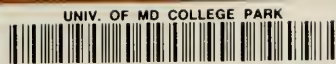



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To Our Readers

1997 marks the third season for a reborn Chautauqua in western Maryland. At the turn of the century, an annual summer *Mountain Chautauqua* flourished in Garrett County. The Maryland Humanities Council is delighted to continue its collaboration with Garrett Community College and the Garrett Lake Arts Festival in bringing what Theodore Roosevelt dubbed "the most American thing about America" back to western Maryland.

What is a Chautauqua? We provide a detailed answer later in this issue, but briefly today's Chautauqua features scholars who take on the persona of celebrated figures from the past, educating and entertaining audiences as they bring history to life once more.

This past summer our *A Voice in America* Chautauqua featured Thomas Jefferson, Frederick Douglass, and Eleanor Roosevelt. We were delighted that our open-air tent was filled both nights with Marylanders who were eager to speak with and learn from these famous Americans and their alter egos. For those of you unable to share that Fourth of July weekend with us, we present this issue of *Maryland Humanities*. Some of the articles tell you a little bit more about Chautauqua programs, past and present. Others focus on the lives of Jefferson, Douglass, and Roosevelt. Perhaps this issue will even encourage you to join us this July when our Garrett County Chautauqua will feature Maryland literary greats H. L. Mencken, Gertrude Stein, Edgar Allan Poe, Zora Neale Hurston, and F. Scott Fitzgerald.

The Maryland Humanities Council extends its thanks to the following individuals and organizations that provided material for this issue: Clay Jenkinson, Charles Everett Pace, Carrol Peterson, Ann Saville, Frank E. Vzrale, the California Council for the Humanities, the Great Plains Chautauqua Society, the Nevada Humanities Committee, the North Dakota Humanities Council, and the West Virginia Humanities Council. A special thanks goes to Lockheed Martin whose generous financial support makes this issue of our magazine possible.

Barbara Wells Sarudy
Executive Director

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Chautauqua

The Magic of a Tent Show

Chautauqua is a tent show. Tent shows are rare enough in an age of high-impact plastic, satellite video conferences, and electronic memo warfare. Moreover, Chautauqua is the only humanities tent show in America. All the other tent programs overarch religious revivals, carnivals, circuses, funerals, and used cars. This Chautauqua has no cars for sale, no one to put to rest. Instead it offers scholars of humanities who come to town, throw up a tent, and open a can of worms.

Tents are magnetic, nostalgic, almost magical. They recall a time in American life when there was neighborliness and leisure at the end of the day, when people talked to each other not across the eerie continental echoes of the telephone, or in front of a television, but eye-to-eye, rooted in the same soil.

We who live in the last decade of the twentieth century are burdened with the complexities of living in a reluctant world empire. We are so busy surviving and striving and accumulating that we have little time for reflection, almost none for good conversation. Life slips past us in the night, and we spend our time trying to make sense of the world we awaken into, bewildered, in the harsh light of morning. We often long for a time when the pace of life was breezy.

Chautauqua cannot turn back the tide of our times, but it can slow the flow — for a few days — and it encourages the forgotten arts of language: precise talk, good listening, leisurely and careful reading. Because it pays continual

homage to the past without forgetting the urgency of the present, and because a tent show is an unusual event in the life of a community, Chautauqua serves as a kind of interlude in which citizens can step back from their lives for a moment and take an accounting of their ways and values.

Tents are magical, but they are also frail. A tent is not so much a structure as a compromise with the natural world. A tent gives people the comfort of ordered space, but that space is respectful, not defiant, towards the forces of nature around it. A tent breathes above its audience. It heaves and sighs atop its wooden poles, alive almost, tethered to the ground but yearning to take wing.

The Chautauqua tent is also neutral ground. This is vitally important. Established places in the community have their own smells, their own habitual clientele: some people feel welcome, some don't. The Chautauqua tent is ecumenical, a temporary enclosure without secret rules or rituals, a canopy that welcomes young and old, vacationers and townspeople, conservatives and liberals, the respectable and the discontented, lovers and dreamers and hard-headed business men and women.

Chautauqua sheds light without heat. People come together to discuss controversial ideas and values which would divide them in another place. Gathering people who do not usually exchange ideas and opinions is one of the most important goals of the public

humanities programs in the United States. Chautauqua is a shade umbrella under which citizens of all descriptions can relax and exchange friendly dialogue after a long hot day.

Chautauqua is a deeply serious program, but it is couched in the trappings of playfulness, theater, even circus. Chautauqua comes to communities to stir up the citizenry, to move folks slightly off their centers of gravity, to inspirit them (and those who travel as Chautauquans) to think more clearly, more broadly, and more historically about the way we Americans live.

Chautauqua, in fact, does at least as much for its participating humanities scholars as it does for the people they meet in their travels. Chautauqua refreshes everyone who takes the plunge. It puts scholars into contact with the world as it is lived in the heart of the nation. It encourages, even requires, scholars to talk in a language actually spoken by well-adjusted adults, rather than in the codes and jargons of the inward-looking university.

Chautauquans come to town to talk with citizens of all ages, to share with them their ideas and insights. But they also come to listen, to hear what people think and what they care about. They are not tourists, but scholars in residence; not actors, but students of the past with their feet firmly planted in the present. They are eager to launch their tent upon the winds.

The Chautauqua Movement

The renowned Chautauqua (*shuh taw kwa*) was named for the Chautauqua Lake area of New York State. There is some evidence that the Chataka Indians, a branch of the Tuscaroras, came north from North Carolina to join the Iroquois and named the lake for themselves. There are legends claiming the name means Land of the Mists or where one vanishes away. Others claim it means one took out a fish there or, because of the lake's shape, two moccasins tied together.

Chautauqua began as a training course for Sunday school teachers in 1874. Because Sunday schools were the only public education available to many people in the late nineteenth century, Chautauqua attempted to bring professional training to Sunday school teachers in religious studies, general teaching methods, and administration.

In 1878, the Chautauqua Institution extended its philosophy of adult education to include an appreciation for the arts and humanities through the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle. Home study courses in history, art, literature, foreign languages, the classics, and music theory reached some 80,000 students in the program's first decade.

About 1904, independent Chautauquas went on the road as "circuit shows" in the Lyceum movement. Lyceums brought lecturers and entertainers to town, especially in the summer when travel was easier. The Chautauquas offered a variety of arrangements, from seven days of programs for the larger, wealthier towns to two and three day "quickies" which the smallest of towns could afford. The financial arrangements involved selling tickets, but someone from the Chautauqua company came in advance to meet with community

leaders. The town had to guarantee a certain amount of money, which depended upon the quality of and demand for the entertainment. If the ticket sales failed to meet the amount agreed upon the town had to pay the difference.

The traveling Chautauquas were more democratic than the permanent assemblies, usually at lakeside sites. Even the tiniest of villages could look forward to an annual visit by a dusty canvas Chautauqua tent, and the shows were priced so that few could not afford admission. The permanent Chautauquas appealed to people with money to spare and the time to spend a week or more at a lakeside pavilion. In Maryland an annual summer Mountain Chautauqua flourished in western Maryland's Mountain Lake Park.

In its early years, traveling Chautauquas offered lectures by Biblical historians, political theorists, and teachers of foreign languages, as well as dozens of programs to help people improve their skills and sharpen their minds. Congressmen, judges, even U.S. presidents, traveled the circuit talking about women's suffrage, the plight of the poor in the slums of the cities, and the need for patriotism, especially during World War I.

Perhaps the most famous Chautauquan was William Jennings Bryan, who gave one speech, "The Prince of Peace," more than 3,000 times on the Chautauqua trail. Bryan was the man who wanted to replace gold with silver as the basis of the nation's money system. He ran for president three times and lost three times. He is also the man who successfully prosecuted school teacher John Scopes for teaching evolution. His opponent was Clarence Darrow, the famous lawyer who also traveled the Chautauqua circuits.

In later years, the Chautauquas followed a national trend from popular education to amusement, with entertainment constituting over half of the program. Broadway musicals from New York were cut down to size and sent on the Chautauqua circuit. There were magicians and crayon artists, dramatic readers and Shakespearean actors. Chautauquas even offered silent movies and nickelodeons.

Some humanities scholars who have studied the period believe that Chautauqua lost its way by turning to variety shows instead of offering people challenging, intellectual ideas. Chautauqua left almost as suddenly as it appeared. Its height was during World War I, when President Woodrow Wilson called Chautauqua a major contributor to the war effort. At that time, Chautauqua brought military bands, wounded soldiers to tell their stories, and singers of patriotic songs.

When peace returned, the circuits went back to their old ways — entertainment and inspirational speeches. Many towns began dropping out as ticket sales declined and the "guarantors" had to dig deep to pay for the shortfall. Chautauqua's death came at the same time the economy declined in the 1920s. There were other reasons: increased mobility, radio and the talking pictures, and a change in the national attitude. The "Roaring Twenties" were years of fun, frolic, and far less concern about self-improvement. More than any other factor, however, was the fact that people were not willing to pay for what they thought was mediocre entertainment.

In 1976 the Chautauqua was reborn as a humanities program in which scholars assume the costume and character of historical figures. When the modern Chautauqua movement began in the

late 1970s in North Dakota, it borrowed the idea of a dialogue between historical figures from Steve Allen's *Meeting of the Minds*. It was also influenced by Hal Holbrook's dramatic monologues in the character of Samuel Clemens. Two people were instrumental in taking these concepts and making them a reality — the co-founders of the modern Chautauqua movement, Everett C. Albers, Executive Director of the North Dakota Humanities Council and scholar Clay S. Jenkinson (a.k.a. Thomas Jefferson). Over the past two decades those involved in the modern revival of Chautauqua have learned a great deal from those models, and veered towards something more academic, more spontaneous, and more humanistic.

To be a humanities program, the first person historical characterization must meet three criteria. First, the scholar must present an unscripted monologue based on the biography, the ideas, and the writings of his/her character. The emphasis is on history and intellectual exploration rather than on drama. Second, the performer

must take audience questions in character. These questions are never planted in advance. They arise from the humanities material in the monologue and from the interests of members of the audience. The scholar answers these questions using the ideas and, if possible, the actual language of the historical character. These questions require the scholar to be exceptionally well prepared and to be able to respond quickly, accurately, and characteristically on his or her feet. Third, at the end of the program the scholar must "break character" and make comments and take questions as a humanist. In other words, the scholar must come out of character to provide historical context, to comment upon the illusion, to tie up loose ends, to recommend books, to explain historical methodology, and to take more questions from the audience in a more traditionally historic manner.

One of the benefits of Chautauqua is that it is not only imaginative in itself, but it inspires the imagination of individuals in the audience. Chautauqua is

a form of intellectual play. A scholar, who would normally be defined as a rather drab figure haunting libraries, suddenly projects her or himself into the soul of a person from history. This has a liberating effect on the audience. Citizens who are normally shy or detached in public settings suddenly take on dramatic personae themselves. In other words, Chautauqua works in two directions. Scholars play the past on stage, and the audience plays back by asking questions and offering comments that might be inhibited by the traditional discourse of the humanities. The magic of Chautauqua is that it inspires a freer use of the historical imagination in scholars and among citizens.

Excerpted from writings by Clay S. Jenkinson, Frank E. Vzrale of the Great Plains Chautauqua Society, and the staff of The West Virginia Humanities Council.

Suggested Readings

Victoria and Robert Case, *We Called It Culture: The Story of Chautauqua*, 1948

Gay MacLaren, *Morally We Roll Along*, 1938

Theodore Morrison, *Chautauqua: A Center for Education, Religion, and the Arts in America*, 1974

John Heyl Vincent, *The Chautauqua Movement*, 1886

Excerpted from Read More About Chautauquas of the Past, a bibliography by Carrol Peterson.



The Ambiguities of Presenting Jefferson

By Clay S. Jenkinson

Why would any serious scholar attempt to impersonate Thomas Jefferson? It is one thing to stand on the shoulders of the giants of culture; it is quite another to step boldly into their shoes. It is true that Jefferson is in some respects a straightforward historical character. He left a clear, voluminous, and well-organized paper trail. There are no significant gaps in his biography except in the Boswellian realm of his psyche and sexual communication. This region, like the private study at Monticello, is Jefferson's *sanctum sanctorum*, in which historians and curiosity seekers are not welcome. In studying the prolific Jefferson it is fair to conclude that where he left no papers he welcomed no scrutiny. Moreover, Jefferson was a rationalist and a reader of books. Like most exemplars of the Enlightenment, he was dedicated to lucidity and common sense.

There are no passages in Jefferson's writings that are too abstract to understand. He must be ranked among the most accessible and cogent of great men. It would be oppressive to attempt to read all the books that shaped Jefferson's thinking, but the scholar is on familiar ground in exploring the mind of so bookish a man. For a scholar to portray the military adventurer Alexander the Great would be enormously difficult; to portray Jefferson is simply to impersonate another — albeit immeasurably greater — humanist. Finally, Jefferson was a man of remarkably few doubts, insecurities, and mental disturbances. He was a well-tempered soul, an exemplar of

the classical ideal of moderation and self-control. He was, in the terms of the philosopher William James, a once-born man.

Jefferson's personality was remarkably consistent through a long life of activity and contemplation. It would be instructive to know more about Jefferson's sense of humor, the grief he experienced at the death of his wife, Martha, and his not infrequent psychosomatic migraine headaches, but it is not likely that such evidence would lead us to discard the existing historical portrait of a man more often amused than brought to laughter, a man who sought to turn away from emotions that he could not accept or absorb, and a man who responded to controversy with such a visceral revulsion that he found it necessary to flee to the landscape and company of more harmonious companions. Jefferson was not, like St. Augustine or John Donne, or his successor Abraham Lincoln, a divided, unresolved, twice-born personality. A mere scholar can portray a once-born rationalist. It would require an accomplished actor to do justice to the psychic complexity of St. Paul.

Unfortunately, audiences are never content to ask for an explication of *The Virginia Statue for Religious Freedom* or for Jefferson's reflections on the French Revolution. They want to know — reasonably enough — what a thirty-something Jefferson would think if he reappeared in the last years of the twentieth century. I am always tempted simply to quote Gerald Ford

and make a hasty retreat. President Ford, annoyed by something or other, said, "If Abraham Lincoln were alive today, he would be rolling over in his grave."

Citizens want to know what Jefferson would think about gun control, about abortion, about the national debt, about our political campaigns, about race relations in the twentieth century, about compulsory public education, about religion in general, and in particular about religions he did not live to witness (e.g., Mormonism). They want to know what Jefferson would say to the welfare state, to America's status as a superpower. They want to hear Jefferson's opinion of women's participation in public life, of flag burning, of the proliferation of pornography. In short, they want Jefferson to respond to — and if possible solve — the problems of the world 166 years after his death.

It would be equally foolish to answer these questions unselfconsciously, blithely opinionative on Jefferson's behalf about one issue after another, and to refuse to answer such questions on the principle of historical integrity. The humanities are not primarily antiquarian. We study history not merely to learn that Jefferson was 6'3" tall or that he played the violin as a young man, or even that the Declaration of Independence was a thoroughly Lockean document. History is a humanities discipline when it enables us to clarify our values as individuals and as a people. One must resist the temptation to apply history naively to the exigencies of the present. Jefferson's ideas are

contingent on the time and place in which he lived, on his strengths and weaknesses as a political theorist, on the historical landscape which served as his arena. Still, Jefferson can be defined as a visionary precisely because he envisioned a set of ideas and principles playing themselves out in the development of the United States through its history. None of the Founding Fathers looked to the future as consistently as did Jefferson.

Surely a man as observant and opinionated as Thomas Jefferson would have something to say if he woke up in the 1990s. If not, there is no point in giving him life through the agency of public humanities programs. Citizens do not go to humanities programs to learn about Jefferson's inventions. They listen to history because it provides a useful and potentially clarifying perspective on contemporary life. Clearly Thomas Jefferson does not have solutions to our problems. But he has a point of view that may possibly help us to solve our problems for ourselves.

Almost everywhere I perform as Jefferson, someone from the audience asks some version of the following question: "Your militia was fine and good in your own time, Mr. Jefferson, when communication was slow and people carried muskets, but how would your coastal gunboats have resisted the sophisticated aggressions of Adolph Hitler (Stalin, Saddam Hussein, the Japanese at Pearl Harbor)?" This question is raised sometimes in earnest and sometimes in triumph. It is sometimes delivered playfully and sometimes in open sarcasm, usually by an older

white male who has determined to put Thomas Jefferson in his place — to return him to the eastern seaboard of a tiny agricultural nation, separated from the Old World by 3,000 miles of ocean in a technologically primitive epoch. The assumption that lurks behind the question is Leibnizian: What is remarkable and disturbing in Jefferson's vision can be dismissed as eighteenth-century pastoral quaintness and what remains is palatable to an industrial superpower. In other words, either a reincarnated Jefferson has nothing much to teach us, who are so much more modern and sophisticated than was he, or, once he learned the facts of history from 1826–1996, he would approve of our handling of both international and domestic affairs. Under this formulation he might be permitted to scold us for our \$4 trillion national debt or encourage greater voter participation in elections, but he would not fundamentally challenge our historic or contemporary responses, at least on such issues as national sovereignty and international relations. He would see that the industrialization and urbanization of America have been both inevitable and good, that states' rights were an impediment to racial justice and national greatness, that isolationism in a world of high-tech Hobbesians is a formula for national suicide.

I often wonder if the interlocutor expects Jefferson to hang his head in shame and admit that his vision was entirely inadequate for the exigencies of the late twentieth century. To score points against Thomas Jefferson, who gave his enormous energies to the

principle that under certain conditions people can thrive on earth, is indeed an ironic triumph.

I do not think these questions are designed solely to discredit Jefferson, to prove his inadequacy in a world of Scud missiles and instantaneous global communications. There is a deeper concern at work here. We live at a time when there is a widespread tacit agreement that the industrial world's basic institutions are deteriorating. In particular, Americans wonder whether our political machinery has the capacity and the virtue to solve our problems. Citizens feel a hunger for leadership and vision, but they are wary of letting their expectations rise lest they be — again — disappointed by the gap between the promise and the performance or between the hopefulness or the vision and the inertia of the world we inherit. The question that lurks behind concern about Hitler and the militia is simple: How seriously do we need to consider Jefferson's vision? The image of a peaceful, isolationist, pastoral nation, decentralized in its political structures, gentle in its use of technology, dedicated to the steady extension of rights and liberties to all of its citizens, frugal in economy, governing itself more through its schools than its laws, and pursuing happiness in the arena of enlightenment rather than in the marketplace is, of course, attractive, but is it realistic? Can we still realize Jefferson's vision? If not, can we at least bring Jeffersonian principles to our imperial-industrial enterprise? Or is Jefferson no longer useful in a thoroughly Hamiltonian world?

Some historians insist that Jefferson's agrarian vision was an illusion, a myth-structure, even in 1801. They argue that even Jefferson saw the need for a mixed economy, particularly after the War of 1812 ("Mr. Madison's War") and that his actions as president, secretary of state, or diplomat exhibit a steady encouragement of international commerce. Nor were Jefferson's yeomen farmers of the West so much subsisting and reading Homer in the original Greek as clearing their land of trees, wild animals, and Native Americans. Even so, more than 95 percent of the American people in Jefferson's time were farmers, and the citizens of the United States were more self-sufficient and self-governing than they have ever been since. There is plenty of agrarian space between Jefferson's more romantic formulations about husbandman as "the chosen people of God" and such conurbations as Riverside, California, or Norwalk, Connecticut.

Assuming that we can — with difficulty — determine who Thomas Jefferson was and what he stood for, the question becomes one of translation. What is fundamental to Jefferson's vision and what is peripheral? What baggage would he certainly bring to the late twentieth century and what would he cheerfully discard? To what extent would he revise his views in light of historical events, and to what extent would he cling tenaciously to views formulated in his lifetime? As a champion of natural law would he assume that his principles were valid in all times and places, or, as a theorist who believed that the amount of freedom a people can enjoy depends on

the history and the preparedness of each nation, would he argue that America's libertarian movement has passed?

There are difficult questions of historical interpretation. In a sense coming to terms with the pronouncements of Thomas Jefferson is like the Biblical hermeneutics of the medieval world. Then each Biblical passage was read for its literal, allegorical, tropological, and anagogical senses. Thus a passage from the erotic *Song of Songs* might be seen literally to be about a lover's assignation with her fiancée, allegorically about humanity's love of the historical Christ, tropologically about the human relation to things divine, and anagogically about our relations with the mother church. So it is with Jefferson. In the narrowest sense he may have been a theoretical pacifist. His purpose was to avoid armed struggle with the corrupt regimes of the Old World. He pursued a policy of minimalism with respect to the United States Army and Navy. And yet he fought a small war against the pirates of Tripoli with some verve. Similarly, he was in the narrowest sense an ardent emancipationist. He worked energetically as a young man to find a legal mechanism for the manumission of slaves in America. He gradually came to terms with his own status as slaveholder but attempted to treat his slaves with respect and generosity at Monticello. By the time of the Missouri Compromise he was willing to subordinate his equalitarian principles to his stronger commitment to the agrarianism and the sovereignty of the slavery-perpetuating South.

Some historians reject this notion of a multivalent Jefferson, capable of living in several tiers of principle at once. They see him rather as a hypocrite or as a bubble-headed theorist who could not find a means of applying his golden principle in the mundane world. To accuse Jefferson too quickly of hypocrisy is a Lilliputian rush to judgment; to exonerate him in every case from the charge of hypocrisy is too generous, too apologetic.

What, then, would Jefferson advocate in the 1990s? This is, in fact, a very difficult intellectual problem. Two quick examples will exhibit the paradox of historical translation.

In his own time Jefferson believed that women should not intrude upon the public sphere. Their place was in the nursery. He said, "the tender breasts of ladies were not formed for political convulsion." Let us assume that he were asked about the role of women in the 1990s. How would he respond? Would he cling stubbornly to his early nineteenth-century views? Would he translate opinions contingent on the social fabric, biology, medical sophistication, and household economy of 1772 (the year he was married) naively to the world of the 1990s? Would Jefferson wish to explore the implications of the industrial revolution, birth control, urbanization, labor demographics, and twentieth-century education before venturing an opinion? If he examined the historical dynamics from 1772–1996, in other words, would he come to see gender relations in much the same way as does an enlightened contemporary male political figure — say Bill Bradley

of New Jersey? Jefferson prided himself on identifying with the enlightened minds on every question that interested him. He advocated the extension of the franchise and a wider application of the principles of natural rights.

It would be equally possible to make a persuasive argument that Jefferson in the 1990s would be a moderate feminist or a paternalistic southern gentleman who prized women but did not take them entirely seriously as participants in public life. It would certainly be a distortion of history to make his 1996 reincarnation advocate a strong feminist agenda. No passage in Jefferson's writings points in that direction. Speculation minus an identifiable document lacks historical integrity. On the other hand, it might be a distortion to permit a 1990s Jefferson merely to rehearse his chauvinistic statements from the rolls of history.

If Jefferson were alive today he would not be an eighteenth-century rationalist and libertarian. He was a child of his times as much as Dante was a child of his. But Jefferson is not alive today. To transform him into some vaguely "Jeffersonian" version of a modern statesman is to make assumptions that historians are not free to indulge.

The circumspect response to a question about the role of women in public life in the 1990s is to begin by quoting one of Jefferson's favorite principles, that "the earth belongs to the living and not the dead," to warn the audience that Mr. Jefferson is only able to speak from his own experience, then to provide a summary — punctu-



Clay S. Jenkinson

ated with quotations — of Jefferson's chauvinistic pronouncements in his own time. It may be useful to quote from Jefferson's statements that one generation has no right to legislate for the future, and that the future will undoubtedly carry Enlightenment principles beyond the conceptual boundaries of the existing generation. In this way the audience has a glimpse of the historical principles of Thomas Jefferson at the same time that it hears the specific pronouncements of Jefferson on a range of subjects.

What would Jefferson have to say about race relations in the United States in the last years of the twentieth century? Certainly he would praise the future for abolishing slavery. He would welcome evidence of black achievements in science, medicine, government, and the arts. He might well conclude that the racial tension of our times is the tragic legacy of slavery, a system that would, he thought, produce lingering resentment in former slaves and nagging fears of reprisal in former slavemasters.

Jefferson advocated manumission followed by repatriation of freed blacks in Liberia and Sierra Leone.

Would a 1990s reincarnation of Jefferson be a racist? Everyone familiar with Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* knows that Jefferson concluded reluctantly but firmly that blacks were intellectually inferior to their white counterparts.

It has been argued persuasively that Jefferson adhered to this notion of a barely perceptible racial differential not so much because he believed in the superiority of his own race, but because he found it possible to assuage his own sense of guilt, his realization that as a slaveholder he was violating his most sacred principles of natural equality by concluding that black people were in some scientifically respectable way inferior and therefore what Aristotle would have termed "natural slaves." To admit an unambiguous equality of natural endowments between blacks and whites would be to discard the only shred of psychological justification for Jefferson's continued ownership of human property. Jefferson was insistent that a racial differential would not diminish the rights of black Americans to equal treatment under law.

For Jefferson, blacks were fully human in every essential criterion. Even so, his hesitant assertion of racial superiority not only slightly assuaged his guilt but permitted him to feel magnanimous for insisting that blacks were entitled to freedom in spite of their inferiority. This is an extremely

complicated and volatile issue. A sixteen-year-old black man stood up among his peers at a high school in the 1990s to ask Thomas Jefferson directly, "Sir, do you think I am inferior?" It was one of the hardest moments in my life as a humanities scholar.

Because Jefferson made science the pivot of his reflections of racial distinctions, it seems clear that he would, were he alive today, accept without hesitation the conclusion of virtually all serious modern scientists that the natural endowments of the earth's races are incapable of being forced onto a Procrustean hierarchy. Surely he would be convinced by recent studies proving that human behavior is contingent upon social environment. The behavior patterns that Jefferson observed among his slaves were inextricably linked to the peculiar institution of slavery. There could be no reliable scientific survey of the endowments of black Americans from within the bonds of slavery.

Still, Thomas Jefferson was a racist and the evidence suggests that his racism ran deeper than his scientific methodology. Persuasive arguments could be made in the 1990s for portraying Jefferson as a man liberated from his status as slaveholder and, therefore, free to see blacks in a more objective light, or as a man with lingering, though less often acknowledged, doubts about racial equality. This question is so volatile, so delicate, so excruciating to any scholar, any citizen with a modicum of moral sensitivity, that it has the potential of souring the delight of

historical recreation. Here the scholar must answer from within Jefferson's limited purview — with enormous care, precision, and every ounce of Jefferson's scientific diffidence. And the answer must conclude with Jefferson's "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever."

There is nothing simple about historical impersonation. It is a risky encounter with history, full of irresponsible temptations, vexed with biographical notions and opinions that cease to be dangerous only when they are painstakingly contextualized. No historical impersonation can be considered a humanities program where the scholar does not, in the end, break character to help the audience make sense of the difficulties of the genre, the basis for the odd and troubling things that the historical figure has uttered, and the methodology of the performing humanist. If Thomas Jefferson were alive today, surely he would not waste our time by articulating his antediluvian views. He would seek out the tools of study and communication, investigate the wonders of modern science, and observe the workings of our world with a Trappist humility. If he opened his mouth at all it would be to ask for books, not to intrude his ideas upon a later generation. The earth belongs to the living. That idea, and his belief that independence requires agricultural self-sufficiency, his conviction that power is accountable only when it is decentralized, his belief that education is the greatest tool of

progress and enlightenment, and his belief that human liberty, rights, and happiness can only be secured in the long run by unfortunate bloodlettings, are non-negotiable. They are the baggage of Thomas Jefferson then and now. Take the agrarian vision from Jefferson and what remains? Only words.

Clay Jenkinson is one of the foremost interpreters of Thomas Jefferson and the founder of the modern Chautauqua movement. In recent years, his in-character portrayals of Thomas Jefferson have entertained and educated fourth graders, Supreme Court justices, members of Congress, and hundreds of other groups throughout the nation. A former Rhodes Scholar, Jenkinson was among the first recipients of the National Endowment for the Humanities' Frankel Prize, the nation's highest award for public humanities service. He holds degrees in the humanities from the University of Minnesota (English) and Oxford University (Renaissance English literature and theology). Jenkinson lives in Reno, Nevada, where he writes and teaches history and literature.

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- Lester J. Cappon, Editor, *The Adams-Jefferson Letters* (Thomas Jefferson, author), 1988
- Lester J. Cappon, Editor, *The Jefferson Bible* (Thomas Jefferson, author), 1988
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- Virginus Dabney, *The Jefferson Scandals: A Rebuttal*, 1990
- Roberta Grimes, *My Thomas: A Novel of Martha Jefferson's Life*, 1993
- Donald Jackson, *Thomas Jefferson and the Stony Mountains: Exploring the West from Monticello*, 1981
- Marie Kimball, *Jefferson: The Scene of Europe, 1784-1789*, 1950
- Adrienne Koch, *Jefferson and Madison: The Great Collaboration*, 1950
- Karl Lehmann, *Thomas Jefferson, American Humanist*, 1947
- Leonard Levy, *Jefferson and Civil Liberties: The Darker Side*, 1963
- Dumas Malone, *Jefferson and His Time* (6 volumes), 1948-81
- Edwin T. Martin, *Thomas Jefferson, Scientist*, 1952
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- Forest McDonald, *The Presidency of Thomas Jefferson*, 1976
- Barbara McEwan, *Thomas Jefferson: Farmer*, 1991
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- John Chester Miller, *The Wolf by the Ears: Thomas Jefferson and Slavery*, 1977
- Albert J. Nock, *Jefferson*, 1926
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- Charles S. Sanford, *The Religious Life of Thomas Jefferson*, 1984
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- Douglas L. Wilson, Editor, *Literary Commonplace Book* (Thomas Jefferson, author), 1989

Frederick Douglass

Abolitionist, Orator, Author, Editor

By Charles Everett Pace

In February 1892, Frederick Douglass proudly accepted an appointment from the president of Haiti to serve as Commissioner of the Haitian Pavilion at the World's Colombian Exposition that opened the following year in Chicago. On August 25, 1893, Douglass delivered a speech that mesmerized those assembled at the pavilion. Commissioner Douglass, even in his mid-seventies, was a man of immense physical, spiritual, and oratorical power. His speech gave voice to the distraught mind of colored America as it anguished over the most recent campaign of terror waged by whites against innocent southern blacks. In a voice described by poet Paul Laurence Dunbar as "full, rich and deep" with "sonorous tones, compelling attention, drowning out the cat calls as an organ would a penny whistle," Douglass focused international attention on the sorry state of democracy in America: "Men talk of the Negro problem. There is no Negro problem. The problem is whether American people have loyalty enough, honor enough, patriotism enough, to live up to their Constitution."

The Compromise of 1877, the withdrawal of federal troops from the South and the collapse of Reconstruction, had left Negroes powerless against southern efforts to reinstate slavery in a different form. And the 1890s promised little in the way of democratic freedom, as white supremacist southern legislatures disenfranchised hundreds of thousands of black

citizens, while the federal government made no effort to protect black life, property, or civil rights. Colored families braced themselves against a massive campaign of intellectual assault, physical abuse, and culturally sanctioned murder. As W. E. B. DuBois informs us: "Murder, killing and maiming Negroes, raping Negro women — in the [18]80's and in the South, this was not even news; it got no publicity; it caused no arrests . . . from 1885 through 1894, 1,700 Negroes were lynched in America and by . . . lynching of Negroes by mobs reached a crimson climax in the US, at the astounding figure of nearly five per week."

Frederick Douglass's words that afternoon thus highlighted a bitter irony: "We Negroes love our country. We fought for it. We ask only that we be treated as well as those who fought against it."

Those assembled that afternoon were well aware of the fact that during the Civil War nearly 200,000 black Union soldiers had fought to "save the union"; yet, after the war's end, rebel forces again controlled the South. This then was the stern reality for black citizens in Gilded Age America.

The Gilded Age was a period that celebrated the northern industrial class-exploitation of southern agricultural and human resources. This effort



helped to open new markets from coast to coast as America stood poised to become the major economic power in the world. Thus, the role of the powerless Negro, in this dynamic national environment, emerged as *the* major issue to which Douglass, in the twilight of a stellar public career, now devoted his considerable diplomatic talents.

Frederick Douglass was and had always been a man with a mission. He was born a slave in 1818 on the Lloyd plantation on Maryland's Eastern Shore. He escaped to freedom in 1838 and blazed a starry trail across three continents and over a half dozen countries as abolitionist, orator, author, editor, and United States Foreign Service Officer. Always the voice of social reform, Douglass championed the cause of the oppressed, especially blacks and women. He died a revered, controversial, respected and wealthy "woman's rights" man on February 20, 1895, at "Cedar Hill," his cherished estate overlooking the city of Washington, D.C.

The first great issue, the "holy cause" to which Douglass devoted himself from at least 1837, as slave, fugitive, and freedman, during peace and in war, was the abolition of the American institution of slavery. Douglass carried his case to major centers of power, speaking directly to senior United States policy makers and members of the British elite. During the Civil War, when federal policy did not permit black men to enlist as combatants, he met with President Abraham Lincoln on two occasions, arguing that, "We

are striking the guilty Rebels with our soft white hand, when we should be striking with the iron hand of the black man."

As the war progressed, Douglass was active in the Union cause. At the request of Governor John A. Andrew of Massachusetts, he (in opposition to some voices within the black community) recruited black Union soldiers, including two of his three sons. His most successful effort was the recruitment of the famed Massachusetts 54th (and 55th) Colored Regiments.

In his autobiographies, Douglass informs us that he heard his first abolitionist speech as a child of six or seven, though it sprang from an unlikely source. His master, Hugh Auld, when told by his wife "Miss Sophia" that she was teaching young "Fred" the ABCs, blurted out: "If you give a nigger an inch he will take an ell. . . . If he learns to read . . . it will forever unfit him to be a slave. . . . from that moment I understood the direct pathway from slavery to freedom."

The quest for literacy, as the key to freedom, emerged as the controlling objective of his childhood years. Douglass tells us that with the aid of various white children he eventually taught himself to read and write. Quite early then, literacy and liberation merged in the calling of a great life's work, first stimulated by a slave mistress's kind pedagogical gesture and the unwittingly emancipatory outburst of an outraged master.

After his escape to freedom in 1838, the fugitive soon became a regular reader of the abolitionist press. The *American Anti-Slavery Standard* and especially *The Liberator*, were sources of inspiration "next to the Bible." Douglass and his new bride, Anna Murray settled in New Bedford, Massachusetts, where he began giving antislavery lectures in local churches. In 1841 he delivered a lecture at a antislavery rally on Nantucket Island. There he was recruited to "tell his story" as a paid lecturer of the American Antislavery Society by its founder and publisher of *The Liberator*, William Lloyd Garrison.

In his successful effort to portray an insider's experience of America's "peculiar institution," as well as to broaden his growing influence at home and abroad, Douglass published *The Narrative* in 1845 and soon thereafter set sail on a two-year tour of the British Isles. "From the moment" he "set foot on British soil," he was struck by the profound difference between the cordial reception he received in "monarchical England" and his bitter treatment in "democratic America." In Great Britain, Douglass educated, influenced, and charmed the curious public and in turn was welcomed warmly by all classes of British society, including its aristocratic elite. This first of several trips abroad proved to be nothing less than a rite of passage. He departed America a growing, but not universally known, figure on the antislavery lecture circuit; he returned a celebrated international superstar. He left a fugitive, subject at any moment to

immediate arrest and ultimate return to southern bondage; he returned a free man because British and American friends raised the \$1,250 necessary to purchase his freedom from Thomas Auld. Finally, he left a paid lecturer with the Garrisonians, yet he returned at the dawning of a professional career as an independent journalist, publisher, and editor. Douglass received a gift of over \$4,000, enough money to buy a printing press and start his own newspaper, the *North Star*.

This revolutionary change in his social and psychological status, and his increased confidence in the worth of his own ideas, soon became a major source of tension with his Garrisonian colleagues. They advised him to abandon his dream of an independent publishing career, claiming that his lack of experience and a formal education, and the difficulty inherent in any publishing enterprise doomed this venture to failure from the start. They also preferred to avoid the competition of another newspaper.

Douglass, who was hurt, confused, and eventually insulted by their response, decided to follow his intellectual and entrepreneurial inclinations. He moved his growing family to Rochester, New York. There, in December 1847, the first issue of the *North Star* rolled out of his dreams and into the first ranks of the abolitionist press.

Through this act of seizing professional status as journalist, publisher, and editor, Douglass redefined the nature of the customary relationship between whites and blacks in America. Politically, he assumed controlling

power over his own thoughts and actions. He eventually broke ranks with the Garrisonians and joined forces with the political or "radical" abolitionists. Yet the cultural significance of his act was perhaps even more politically radical. Through his act of assuming control of the printed word, Douglass offered an alternative to the current representation of black people in America. He also directly challenged the major intellectual justification of the inhuman treatment of African peoples throughout the Western world. White Western culture had traditionally represented blacks, along with other melanin-rich people, as "other," meaning that blacks were thought to be fundamentally unlike their own white "selves." Additionally, blacks were represented as existing on a lower order of humanity—childlike at best, bestial at worse, but certainly irrational beings who lacked the capacity for reflexive self-conscious thought and therefore were in need of white control, white protection, and white domination.

Thus, Douglass in establishing himself as an independent journalist and one who owned "the means of production" to boot, ceased to be what he had formerly been most proud of being—"one of the boys." He had now become "his own man." Once when asked by what name he should be addressed, he responded, "Mr. Editor, if you please." Yet Douglass, a national icon by 1893, was not without his share of critics.

As an abolitionist, Douglass had weathered with great dignity the storms caused by several of his public statements. He had been booed and spat

upon, and in 1843 he was severely beaten by a white mob in Pendleton, Indiana. In 1870 President Ulysses S. Grant appointed him as secretary of a five-man mission to Santo Domingo. Upon his return, Douglass publicly supported the commission's recommendation for the annexation (with the locals' consent) of the island. This position was roundly criticized by some, who viewed it as supportive of America's growing imperial intention. During the Reconstruction years and beyond, some blacks felt that Douglass had become alienated from the black masses while he served in a variety of presidential appointments, including U.S. marshal in Washington, D.C. and later as recorder of deeds for the District. However, it was his opposition to the exodus of southern blacks onto the Great Plains of Oklahoma and Kansas that drew the greatest fire. This position, considering the increasing wave of mob violence being waged against black individuals and businesses, convinced many in the African-American community that Douglass had simply lost touch with the grim reality faced by most southern blacks.

Besides abolition and the Civil War, the two additional great issues which Douglass championed were the right to vote and women's rights, though the quest for voting rights for blacks must be seen in two parts: First, the effort to secure passage of the Fifteenth Amendment granting black males the ballot; second, the ability to exercise this right unobstructed after southern legislatures along with white terrorist organizations disenfranchised hundreds of thousands of southern black men beginning in the early

1890s. Douglass argued that a democratic country should not only pass a constitutional amendment making suffrage legal, but that it also should be committed to enforcing this right, "by any means necessary." However, the right to vote for black Americans, as we know, was not secured until 1965 with the passage of the Voting Rights Act during the administration of President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Douglass's decision to champion the cause of black men over the call for "universal suffrage" brought him into direct conflict with several (though not all) members of the women's rights movement, including his dear friends Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Ever since Douglass had seconded Stanton's motion at the 1848 inaugural meeting of the Women's Rights Movement in Seneca Falls, New York, he had been proud to call himself "a women's rights man." The cause of the slave and the cause of women had gone hand in hand. Many women (and men) were active in both efforts.

But at the conclusion of the Civil War Douglass argued that this was the "black man's hour." Douglass, like Lincoln, was sensitive to northern political opinion. He reasoned that white male politicians might be willing to grant voting rights to black men but would not support an amendment guaranteeing this right to one-half of the adult population. This decision opened Douglass up to charges of being a "sell out" and a "compromiser" of his much vaunted human and woman's rights principles. However, Douglass successfully overcame the ill feelings this position



Charles Everett Pace

generated and upon the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870 he immediately issued the call for a Constitutional amendment guaranteeing women's suffrage as well.

Finally, the issue which gained Douglass's allegiance during his last years was the effort to secure federal protection against the expanding level of public violence directed against southern blacks, especially the increasing wave of lynching. Douglass mounted this effort with the one person who, more than any other, inherited his public role as crusading journalist and internationally traveled social reformer — Ida B. Wells. Douglass and Wells were the two major black voices at the 1893 Columbian Exposition.

The end came for Douglass in as dramatic a way as his life had been lived. On February 20, 1895, Douglass was in the city to attend a meeting of the Women's Council. When he

entered the hall, the presiding officer, Mary Wrote Sewall, suspended business while Susan B. Anthony and the Reverend Anna H. Shaw escorted him to the platform "each member rising to her feet and waving her handkerchief" in tribute to the gallant and still charismatic old warrior. After the meeting Douglass returned to Anacostia before going out later that evening to fulfill another speaking engagement. While mimicking (as he so enjoyed doing) one of the speakers for the amusement of his second wife, Helen (Anna Douglass had died in 1882 after forty-four years of marriage), he suddenly clutched his chest and slumped to his knees. Slightly bemused, Helen thought he was merely being a bit more dramatic than usual but quickly realized in horror that her beloved husband had passed away. After lying in state for several hours in Washington, D.C.'s Metropolitan African Methodist Episcopal Church, his body was placed aboard a train and taken to its final resting place in Rochester, New York.

After lying in state for a day in city hall, he was buried with Anna and his daughter Annie in Mount Hope Cemetery in Rochester.

In crossing over and joining those whom DuBois referred to as "the great Majority — the Almighty Dead," Douglass's leaving did not mean that he was gone. He merely passed into history and perhaps more appropriately, into what one historian calls "myth-history."

So what does the life of Frederick Douglass mean for us today? Well, for those of us who gather in communion around texts, who take seriously the value of books and the public discussion of ideas, Douglass's life signifies, among other things, the intimate relationship between thought and action in the achievement and maintenance of a democratic society. He also reminds us, in these days of vanishing

appropriations dollars (especially for cultural affairs), of the relationship between economics and culture. Frederick Douglass, best-selling author and popular public speaker, who commanded as much as \$200 per lecture once observed: "Without money there's no leisure, without leisure no thought, without thought no progress." Douglass's words drive home the fact that for the construction of a viable intellectual cultural climate, the "superstructure" of ideas must be grounded in a firm economic "base."

Finally, for the children, the "almighty future" in whose interest we ultimately work, Douglass represents the high value of return which is potentially achievable through the nurture of a cultural climate wherein literacy — reading — is celebrated as both a means and an end; as a bulwark against the "closing of the American

mind." A closed mind means not only personal ignorance but cultural intolerance as well. Literacy serves as a protector for democracy in America, because if they "ever learn to read . . . it will forever unfit [them] to be a slave." Nuff said.

Charles Everett Pace is a veteran member of the Great Plains Chautauqua Society. As a Chautauquan, Pace has portrayed Malcolm X, W.E.B. DuBois, and — for over 18 years — Frederick Douglass. He has been involved in public programs for more than 20 years working with public diplomacy and the arts and humanities. Pace holds a MA in American studies from Purdue University. Currently, Pace is visiting assistant professor of anthropology and American studies at Centre College in Danville, Kentucky while he continues his doctoral work in American studies at Purdue.

Suggested Readings

John Blassingame, Editor, *The Frederick Douglass Papers*, 1979–82

Anna Bontemps, *Free at Last — The Life of Frederick Douglass*, 1971

Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass, Written by Himself — His early life as a slave, his escape from bondage and his complete history to the present time*, 1881 and 1892

Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom*, 1855

Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of An American Slave*, 1845

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William S. McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 1991

Benjamin Quarles, *Frederick Douglass*, 1948 (reprint 1968)

Eleanor Roosevelt

First Lady of the World

By Ann Saville

In *The 100 Most influential Women of All Time*, Deborah Felder ranked Eleanor Roosevelt number one — ahead of the Virgin Mary (10), Queen Elizabeth the First (16), and Margaret Thatcher (68). Felder calls Eleanor Roosevelt the “most important public woman of the twentieth century.” Harry Truman called her “the first lady of the world.”

During an era when only token *noblesse oblige* was the accepted order of the day, Eleanor Roosevelt took her social responsibility much more seriously than other members of the privileged class into which she was born. Her adult life was deeply committed to service, and she remained involved in the attempt to solve social problems no matter what her circumstances or position. To the very end of her life she was at work on a wide range of social issues including education, world peace, the alleviation of poverty, women’s and children’s rights, and civil rights.

Although born to wealth and privilege, Eleanor experienced a grim childhood. She was one of the Oyster Bay Roosevelts — her father, Elliot, was the only brother of Theodore. The young Eleanor idolized her father; it might be said that it was his image of her that she tried to live up to all her life. She felt accepted and loved by him. But Eleanor’s mother, one of the beauties of her time, never let Eleanor forget how plain she was and what a disappointment she was to her mother. Elliot Roosevelt died of alcoholism when Eleanor was ten years old. Her mother and one of her brothers had died when she was eight. After her mother’s death, Eleanor was raised by her grandmother.

Eleanor was a very lonely and insecure child until the age of fifteen when she was sent abroad to school in England. Allenswood School was run by Mademoiselle Marie Souvestre. Mlle. Souvestre gave Eleanor the attention and praise she had never had before. She appreciated her young student for her intelligence and thoughtfulness. Eleanor was transformed in the three years she spent at Allenswood. In addition to instilling self confidence and poise in her student, Mlle. Souvestre sowed the seeds of social consciousness that were to grow so spectacularly. Mlle. Souvestre was associated with the leading intellectual lights of the day including members of the Fabian Society. She taught the young Eleanor that education carried responsibility with it, that one was supposed to work for the betterment of the world if one had the privileges of a good education and the wealth of the upper class.

Eleanor would have liked to go to college when she came home to America in 1902, but her grandmother did not think it was necessary for someone in their social class who was destined to become a wife and mother. Conforming to the social expectations of her family, Eleanor made her debut in society. She made the typical round of parties and balls, feeling uncomfortable or bored most of the time. However, during this time she also kept her interest in social reform alive by becoming involved in the Rivington Street Settlement House. She found time to visit factories to monitor working conditions, especially those of women.

When Eleanor married her fifth cousin Franklin in 1905, her reform interests did become secondary to the role of wife and mother for a time. During the next ten years Eleanor and Franklin had six children, one of whom



Eleanor Roosevelt
Photo courtesy United Auto Workers

died in infancy. Her role was also molded by Franklin's political aspirations. He became a member of the New York Senate in 1911, was appointed assistant secretary of the Navy under Woodrow Wilson, and ran unsuccessfully for the vice presidency in 1920.

In 1918, Eleanor discovered that Franklin had been having an affair with her social secretary, Lucy Mercer. This devastated her emotionally for two years. It was the struggle to deal with this new fact about her marriage and her life that started Eleanor on the path to independence. She became involved in nonpartisan politics, joining the League of Women Voters and the Women's Trade Union League. At the same time she was becoming more independent of the influence of her mother-in-law, Sarah Delano Roosevelt, who had dominated their marriage, including the raising of the children.

Franklin was struck by polio in 1921, and it looked like his active life in politics might be over. But Louis Howe, his long-time political advisor, stayed concerned with Franklin's career and neither was ready to admit defeat. Eleanor had gotten directly involved in Franklin's career during the vice presidential race when Howe asked her to participate in formulating speeches for Franklin to give from the back of the campaign train. During that campaign of 1920 Eleanor became an integral part of the political organization that Franklin was gathering around him. It was natural, then, that Louis Howe would turn to her to help him maintain Franklin's image in the public eye when polio immobilized him. Eleanor's activities during

those years made her a critical part of Howe's plan to work hard through the ensuing years and bring Franklin back to public office in 1928. Howe helped Eleanor learn to make speeches and effective public appearances; she became a public figure in her own right and joined into Democratic politics.

These two major events, Franklin's infidelity and his bout with polio, were the catalysts that propelled Eleanor into public life. Though she had never been much involved in the movement to secure women's rights and suffrage, Eleanor now became close friends with some women who had been. These women were involved in the activities of the Women's Division of the Democratic Party. They worked for reform for women in the workplace, promoting legislation that would set maximum hours and minimum wages. Eleanor worked to get women on committees at all levels of the party and government. She knew that this was the way to advance the cause of women and to promote needed reforms.

The 1920's were a major decade in Eleanor Roosevelt's development as a public figure and as a person. By the time Franklin came back into politics as governor of New York, Eleanor was the better known public figure of the two. In her private life, she had formed close friendships with other women. With two of these, she shared a cottage that Franklin encouraged her to build on the grounds of the Roosevelt home in Hyde Park. This gave her the independence from her mother-in-law that she had needed so desperately. She and one of these friends owned a school in New York City where Eleanor taught history.

After Franklin became governor, Eleanor divided her time between the school and the mansion in Albany. During the four years in Albany, Eleanor also became Franklin's "eyes and legs" as she traveled to places he was not able to go, bringing him reports of conditions he needed to know about. Franklin trusted her powers of observation, her impartiality, and her honesty in evaluating situations and events. This was a role she continued to play in the White House when Franklin was elected president in 1932.

Initially Eleanor thought she would not have any prominent involvement in the political process when Franklin became president. She was somewhat concerned that she would lose her identity that she had been at such pains to build over the last twelve years. However, as she talked with her women friends who were also politically aware and astute, she soon realized that she could play a very constructive role by becoming a conduit for concerns and issues — she became a direct link for women to the most powerful man in America. Her friends and post-suffrage feminist activists, Esther Lape and Elizabeth Read, helped Eleanor construct a list of the most capable women in the country. When a governmental position came open, Eleanor would bring a woman's name to Franklin as a possible appointee. Eleanor was concerned that the New Deal be for women as well as for men.

Women's issues weren't the only ones that Eleanor brought to her husband's attention. Through her press conferences and other media contacts and through the responses to her "My

Day" columns, Eleanor knew what people considered to be the burning concerns of the time. Whenever she felt justice wasn't being done or that people had legitimate questions, she interceded with Franklin to make sure that those things got on the political agenda.

One of the New Deal programs that Eleanor was vitally concerned with and active in were the homesteads. The first of these was in Arthurdale, West Virginia. Eleanor's friend, Lorena Hickock, was traveling as a reporter through Pennsylvania and West Virginia, documenting the depression conditions there. She wrote to Eleanor that a homestead in the area around Morgantown would succeed because of the existing involvement of the West Virginia University Extension Service and also because of the commitment of a group of Friends doing service work there. Eleanor came out to investigate for herself and soon the project was underway. Eleanor was to stay involved in Arthurdale for many years, visiting frequently and speaking at the graduation there every year until the war. It was at Arthurdale that she first became aware of the particular problems facing black Americans during the depression. Her lifelong involvement with civil rights dated from that time.

Within a short time after her consciousness was raised at Arthurdale, Eleanor met in the White House with influential leaders of the black community. This was only the first of many meetings of "undesirables" that were frowned upon by the public. Eleanor did not consider the White House the private property of the president and

his family; she thought it was a national resource that should be used by and for the people. She did not exclude anyone, and this resulted in constant criticism. Her activities as First Lady made her one of the most controversial figures of the day. In popularity polls, conducted at the time, she would be at the top of the list for both the "most admired" and the "least admired." Eleanor Roosevelt was definitely a different kind of First Lady than the country had ever had before. There were always rumors that she was making decisions for her husband and there was fear of "petticoat politics." Though Eleanor brought information directly to Franklin that she hoped would guide his decisions, she was never present at any official cabinet meetings, nor was she a part of any official decision.

Eleanor promoted the entry of the United States into World War II. She was against isolationism and felt very strongly that the future of the civilized world depended on the defeat of Hitler. Once the U.S. had entered the war, she traveled extensively, visiting the armed forces in Great Britain and the Pacific Theater. All four of the Roosevelts' sons were on active duty during the war. This gave Eleanor empathy with the parents of the men and women who were serving their country, and whenever she could, she brought messages home to them from their sons and daughters. While maintaining this active travel schedule, Eleanor never missed writing numerous daily letters to friends or her syndicated column "My Day." She only missed four days of her column when Franklin died in 1945.

Although Eleanor thought her life as a public figure would end with the death of the president, in fact it continued as strongly as ever. By the end of the year of Franklin's death, Harry Truman had asked her to serve on the American delegation to the first General Assembly of the newly-formed United Nations. From 1946 to 1948 she chaired the commission that wrote the United Nations International Declaration of Human Rights. When Eisenhower became president in 1952, she was not reappointed to the UN, but she began working with the American Association of the United Nations, a volunteer organization. She was active in efforts for world peace until her death and became an unofficial ambassador of the United States through her extensive traveling and speaking abroad. After Franklin was no longer president and she was no longer regarded as "official" in any way, Eleanor used her new freedom to be more outspoken and confrontational both in her public persona and her column, which she continued to write until 1962, the year she died. She also wrote eight books, including a three-volume autobiography that she had started during her early White House years.

Eleanor Roosevelt was always on the "cutting edge" of thought, both of her social class and the political milieu that surrounded her. She was one of the most forward-looking people of her generation. The main reason for her political and social work was that she genuinely cared for the welfare of people and the concepts of justice and fairness. She had a basic belief in the equality set out in the Constitution and Bill of Rights. She had great faith

in the capacity of every person to fulfill his or her potential. She believed in real democracy and the willingness of people in a democracy to respect and safeguard the rights of others. She never backed down from an issue that she thought was fundamental or a cause she thought just. Eleanor Roosevelt not only had the right sort of beliefs to ensure the success of democracy, she had the courage to act on them.

Ann Saville is a native of England where she was a registered nurse before emigrating to America in 1956. A United States citizen since 1964, Saville holds a BS degree in psychology from Morris Harvey College and completed graduate work in experimental

psychology at Ohio University. Saville started researching the life and times of Eleanor Roosevelt in January 1991 for the West Virginia Humanities Council's state-wide Chautauqua. Since then she has made over sixty first-person portrayals of the First Lady based on extensive and ongoing research. Active in community theater groups for over twenty years, Saville is also an avid gardener and reader. In 1995, she became a bookseller as well with Taylor Books, a full service bookstore and espresso bar housed in a historic building in downtown Charleston, West Virginia. Taylor Books fills her time when she is not busy being or studying Eleanor Roosevelt.



*Ann Saville
Photo by Ann Williams*

Suggested Readings

Lois Scharf, *Eleanor Roosevelt, First Lady of American Liberalism*, 1987

Joseph Lash, *Eleanor and Franklin: The Story of the Relationship Based on Eleanor Roosevelt's Private Papers*, 1971

Blanche Weisen Cook, *Eleanor Roosevelt*, 1992

Humanities in the Nation

Recent NEH Grants

The following Maryland institutions have recently received grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, DC.

Division of Research and Education

Prince George's Community College, Largo. Up to \$25,000 in outright funds to support an institute on African-American history from 1865 to 1965 for history and literature teachers from Oxon Hill High School in Prince George's County.

The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. Up to \$109,600 in outright funds and up to \$200,000 in matching funds to support the continuing preparation of an edition of the papers of Dwight David Eisenhower. Up to \$106,660 in outright funds to support "Social and Economic History of the Plantation Complex, 1450-1890."

University of Maryland, College Park. Up to \$81,250 in outright funds to support the continuing preparation of an edition of the papers of Samuel Gompers.

Division of Preservation and Access

Baltimore City Life Museums, Baltimore. Up to \$313,600 in outright funds to support the acquisition of high-density mobile storage equipment, and the provision of climate control and security for the facility housing the Baltimore history collection.

The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. Up to \$700,000 in outright funds to support the enhancement of environmental, fire, and security systems for the gallery's ancient, medieval, and nineteenth century material culture collections.

Division of Public Programs

The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. Up to \$200,000 in outright funds to support a traveling exhibition, a catalog, and public programs on 17th-century Dutch painting in Utrecht.

National Conversation, Dorchester County Chapter, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Cambridge Baha'i Community received NEH support for a *National Conversation* program entitled "Dorchester County Institute for the Healing of Racism."

National Humanities Center Summer Institute

The National Humanities Center in Research Triangle Park, North Carolina will sponsor a summer institute for high school English teachers on *The Writing of African-American Identity: Self, Race, and Gender*. The program will run from June 23 to July 11, 1997. Travel expenses, lodging, most meals, texts, and a \$750 stipend will be provided to participants. For an application write or call: Summer Institute Office, National Humanities Center, P.O. Box 12256, Research Triangle Park, NC 27709, 919-549-0661 (E-mail: summrins@ga.unc.edu). Application deadline is March 15, 1997. The institute is made possible in part through grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities.



Humanities in Maryland

From the Resource Center

The following video and audio tapes may be borrowed from the Maryland Humanities Council's Resource Center. For further information call Polly Weber at 410-625-4830.

Mahabharata

This three-part series focuses on the Indian Sanskrit poem, *The Mahabharata*. Written as early as the fifth or sixth century B.C., the poem tells the story of a family feud between the Pandavas and the Kauravas. (Videotape)

The O/Aural Tradition: Beowulf

This two-part program looks at the medieval epic poem, *Beowulf*. The program features readings from both the original Old English text and the modern translation by Burton Raffel as well as interviews with scholars about the poem and related issues. (Audiotape)

Daniel Boorstin

The former Librarian to Congress, and author of more than a dozen novels, discusses reading books in a symposium titled *Books, Readers, and Reading in the 1990's*. (Audiotape)

The Writing Life

A series of programs produced by the Howard County Poetry and Literature Society. Available titles include: *A Conversation between Henry Taylor and Mark Strand*, *Lucille Clifton with Roland Flint*, *Brian Bedford Reads Wilbur's Moliere*, *Saul Bellow — At Ease*, and *William Warner — Fact and Fancy in Non-Fiction*. (Videotapes)

Money Available

Nonprofit organizations and community groups are eligible to apply for grants from the Maryland Humanities Council. Staff members will help you plan programs and work on grant applications. We recently revised our application guidelines; to receive a copy please call or write the Council (address and phone number on back cover).

There are two kinds of grants. Minigrants (requests of \$1,200 or less) should be submitted at least six weeks before your project begins; there are no set deadlines for minigrants. Regular grants (\$1,201 to \$5,000) should be submitted by the following deadlines:

First Draft	Final Draft	Decision Date
June 16, 1997	July 31, 1997	September 20, 1997

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Maryland Bookshelf

The Maryland Humanities Council regularly announces the publication of recent books written by Marylanders or about Maryland. Please let us hear from you when you publish.

Poetry

Sunday at 2, Baltimore Writers' Alliance

The Illustrated Zen Poet, Gary Blankenburg

Bodies of Lightning, Alan Britt

The Terrible Stories, Lucille Clifton

The Neighbor, Michael Collier

Essential Fables, Vonnice Winslow Crist

The Boy in the Well, Daniel Mark Epstein

In the Crevice of Time: New and Collected Poems, Josephine Jacobsen

The Room of Months, Marta Knobloch

Above the Tree Line, Kathy Mangan

An Early Afterlife, Linda Pasten

The Brighter the Veil, Lia Purpura

Beyond These Shores, 1934-1940, Ruth Rosenberg

Radiant: Prayer-Poems, Diane Scharper

With One White Wing and Worthing, Elizabeth Spires

The Night Lover, Elisabeth Stevens

Shocked and Amazed: On and Off the Midway, James Taylor

Disfortune, Joe Wenderoth

Silent Partner, Greg Williamson

Fiction

All Souls' Rising and Ten Indians, Madison Smartt Bell

Men on Men 6: Best New Gay Fiction, David Bergman, editor

The Margin, John C. Boland

The Cybernetic Walrus, Jack Chalker

Slow Dancing With the Angel of Death, Helen Chappell

Executive Orders, Tom Clancy

Black Light and Interstate, Stephen Dixon

That's All Right, Mama: The Unauthorized Life of Elvis's Twin, Gerald Duff

Eastern Peaches, Sandy Fleming

The Janus Urge, George Goldsborough

Paradise: Stories of a Changing Chesapeake, J. H. Hall

Beethoven Was Black & Browne Is White, Mark Hayes

The Children Bob Moses Led, William Heath

Today Is Tomorrow, Betty Steaert Herman

Black Light, Stephen Hunter

Daughters of Song, Paula Huston

Clouded Dreams, Deborah Insel

Natchez: A Novel of the Deep South, Pamela Jekel

The Moon at Noon, Uche N. Kalu

The Crawlspace Conspiracy, Thomas Keech

Death in Still Waters, Barbara Lee

The Long Sun, Janice Lucas

Confessions at the Cafe Tattoo Bar and Grill, Anthony Mafale

Annapolis, William Martin

Capitol Offense, Barbara Mikulski and Marylouise Oates

The Resurrectionist, Thomas F. Monteleone

The Last Pumpkin Paper, Bob Oeste

Breach of Trust, Preston A. Pairó, III

Antipodes 10, John Pascal

Night Train to Memphis and The Hippopotamus Pool, Elizabeth Peters

Angel Rogue and River of Fire, Mary Joe Putney

Handsome as Sin, Kelsey Roberts

Born in Shame, Daring to Dream, and True Betrayals, Nora Roberts

Mary's Land, Lucia St. Clair Robson



My Baltimore Landsmen, Herman Taube

Mason's Retreat, Christopher Tilghman

Ladder of Years, Anne Tyler

Face to Face, Rebecca York

Younger Readers

Toulouse, the Story of a Canada Goose, Priscilla Cummings

A Dolphin Named Bob, Twig C. George

Oyster Moon, Margaret Meacham

Remembering Mog, Colby Rodowsky

Can a Coal Scuttle Fly?, Camay Calloway Murphy and Tom Miller

Speakers Bureau

1996-97 Season

During 1997, the Maryland Humanities Council is presenting its first series of *Speakers Bureau* programs throughout the state. Outstanding humanities scholars are available for presentations, without charge, to civic and community groups in Maryland. The Council pays for the scholar's honorarium and travel expenses — all the sponsoring organization must do is provide a space and an audience. The speakers listed below can be booked by calling Polly Weber, 410-625-4830.

Julie Oeming Badiee

A Baltimore Treasure Hunt: Looking at Masterpieces in Local Museums

David M. Dean

Bicycling Across History: Following the Trek West of Our Mid-Nineteenth-Century Ancestors

Bjorn Krondorfer

The Holocaust in History and Contemporary Society

1997-98 Season

The Maryland Humanities Council is now accepting applications from prospective speakers for the 1997-98 season. The bureau will consist of ten scholars who will offer presentations to community groups. Each speaker will give four presentations per year from November 1 through October 31. Any humanities scholar who is a resident of Maryland or who is employed in Maryland is eligible to apply. Scholars may draw their themes from any humanities area from history to ethics, from ancient philosophy to modern art criticism. Topics must encourage discussion between the speaker and the audience. Speakers will receive an honorarium of \$250 per presentation plus travel expenses.

A Council committee will review written applications and select finalists to audition on Wednesday, April 16, 1997. Finalists will be asked to present a fifteen-minute preview of their topic and respond to questions from the selection committee. Scholars selected from this group will join the Council's Speakers Bureau scholars for 1997-98. For further information and specific application instructions, contact Polly Weber at 410-625-4830.

Reading & Literary Arts Programs for 1997

Reading/Discussion Programs

The Maryland Humanities Council is sponsoring a series of free reading/discussion programs for local libraries and senior centers throughout the state. Series themes include *Voices and Visions* (American poetry), *Families*, the *Bill of Rights*, and *Democracy in America*. A scholar selected by the Council will present background information on the authors and their works and lead a discussion about issues raised in the reading. The Council will pay for the scholar's honorarium and travel expenses and supply the books and tapes to be discussed. The local library or senior center is responsible for organizing and publicizing the program and for returning the books to the Council so that others may use them. For further information, contact Margitta Golladay, 410-625-4830

Family Matters Receives Additional Funding

The Maryland Humanities Council is pleased to announce that *Family Matters* — its innovative reading/discussion program for inner-city youth and their adult family partners — has received additional financial support from the Annie E. Casey Foundation and the William G. Baker, Jr. Memorial Fund. Their generous support, along with that of the Margaret Alexander Edwards Trust, the Jacob and Hilda Blaustein Foundation, Inc., and the Friends of the Pratt Library, will enable the Council to continue to bring this program to additional shelters and public housing sites during 1997. The Council also wishes to acknowledge its thanks for the continuing support of our collaborating partners, the Housing Authority of Baltimore City and the Enoch Pratt Free Library.

Baltimore Book Festival

The second annual Baltimore Book Festival takes place on September 27-28, 1997 at Mount Vernon Place. The Maryland Humanities Council is pleased to once again join with the Baltimore Office of Promotion in bringing this outstanding literary event to Marylanders.

The event runs on Saturday from 10 a.m. – 8 p.m. and on Sunday from 12 – 6 p.m., rain or shine. All activities are free. The outdoor festival features author readings, booksellers, cooking demonstrations, children's activities, book signings, poetry, storytelling, Internet exhibits, food and drink, live entertainment, and more.

Interested participants, vendors, and volunteers should contact Kathy Hornig at the Baltimore Office of Promotion, 410-757-8632. The festival is also soliciting proposals from writers, artists, poets, musicians and others for unique projects inspired by books, reading, literature and/or the written word — the sky's the limit! Those chosen will receive an honorarium and the opportunity to present their work at the Baltimore Book Festival.

Calendar of Humanities Events

Exhibits

Through 1997

Images and Voices of Greenbelt

This permanent exhibit details the history of Greenbelt, one of three planned communities built by the federal government in the 1930s as a social experiment.

Location: The Gallery, Greenbelt Community Center

Contact: Sandra Lange, 301-883-5542

Sponsor: Friends of the Greenbelt Museum

February 1997

Battle Creek Cypress Swamp: Human History and the Cypress Swamp

An interpretive exhibit on the Battle Creek Cypress Swamp explores the benefits people derive from this natural resource and how their activities have affected it.

Location: Battle Creek Cypress Swamp Nature Center, Prince Frederick

Contact: Dwight Williams, 410-535-5327

Sponsor: Battle Creek Nature Education Society

Through
mid-January

Building Memories

Community members share their memories and photographs of downtown buildings in storefront displays. The displays will be placed in the windows of the corresponding buildings on New Year's Eve and remain for two weeks. They will then be moved to the Wicomico Free Library as a reference for local history.

Location: Buildings in Salisbury's Downtown Plaza

Contact: Michelle Wainwright, 410-543-2787

Sponsor: Salisbury Wicomico Arts Council

February 3-
mid-March

The Language of Art in Traditional African Life

African art — its symbolic language, socio-religious functions, and influence on contemporary art — will be explored in an exhibition of the African art collection of Dr. Warren Robbins, founder of the National Museum of African Art.

Location: Art Center Gallery, Delaware State University

Contact: Philip Allen, 301-687-4090

Sponsor: Frostburg State University

Through
January 1997

Discovering Lost Towns

The results of archaeological, archival, and environmental research on "lost towns" such as Providence and London Town in Anne Arundel County are interpreted in this traveling exhibit that will visit libraries, senior centers, shopping malls, and other public buildings.

Location: Anne Arundel Archaeology Laboratory and Building Lobby, Heritage Center, Annapolis

Contact: James Gibb, 410-222-1919

Sponsor: London Town Foundation, Inc.

Programs

The Blues Connection: A Multimedia Presentation

Blues history and lore are presented in a multimedia format featuring storytelling, poetry, visual images, and live musical performances in six free family programs at branch libraries in Prince George's, Queen Anne's, and Howard counties.

January 19
2:30 PM

Location: Surratts-Clinton Library, Clinton

February 23
2:00 PM

Location: East Columbia Library

March 2
2:30 PM

Location: Hyattsville Library

Contact: *Judith Cooper, 301-699-3500*

Sponsor: Prince George's County Memorial Library

February –
April 1997

Horse-Drawn History: The Connection Between Carriages and Community

The Thrasher Carriage Museum, Frostburg State University, and the local business community have produced an interpretive booklet cataloging the horse-drawn vehicle collection at the Thrasher Museum; this material will also be presented in a series of public programs.

Location: Allegany County Thrasher Carriage Museum, Frostburg

Contact: *Deborah Miller, 301-777-5905*

Sponsor: Allegany County Thrasher Carriage Museum

February -
October 1997

Antonio Machado: The Soul of Spain

A recitation of Spanish poet Antonio Machado's poetry will be accompanied by commentary on his life and a performance of Spanish folkloric music. Presentations will take place at libraries, senior centers, and community centers throughout Maryland.

Location: Eight locations in Maryland

Contact: *John Haigh, 410-323-2829*

Sponsor: The Hispanic Cultural Association of Maryland

January 31 &
February 28
7:00 PM

Windows on Music

Free lectures will be offered by the Annapolis Symphony Orchestra before each of its five Friday night subscription concerts during the 1996-97 season. Rachel Franklin, a faculty member at the University of Maryland Baltimore County, will lead discussions on twentieth-century works by Hindesmith, Bartok, and Prokofieff.

Location: Maryland Hall for the Creative Arts, Annapolis

Contact: *Pamela Chaconas, 410-269-1132*

Sponsor: Annapolis Symphony Orchestra Association

March 2
2:00 PM

Choral Music: Historical Context/Contemporary Response

This series of pre-concert lectures by music historian Eileen Soskin will examine the life and work of Handel, Britten, Bach, and Mendelssohn.

Location: Second Presbyterian Church, Baltimore

Contact: *T. Herbert Dimmock, 410-235-1613*

Sponsor: The Handel Choir of Baltimore

Maryland Revisited



In this new feature, vintage photographs provide a brief glimpse into Maryland's past. In keeping with our Chautauqua theme, we offer three photographs of George Washington Klecka Rokos costumed to attend the annual "Masked Ball" — a harvest festival celebrated annually in the Czech community of East Baltimore.

In the photo at left, two-year-old George made his first recorded ball appearance. In 1915, the five-year-old went to the ball as a very dapper Woodrow Wilson (lower left), and one year later he arrived as his namesake, General George Washington (lower right).

All photographs courtesy of the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.



Maryland's Best Kept Humanities Secrets

The following Maryland museums have collections which include equipment and memorabilia related to the history of firefighting. We suggest that you call before you visit, since hours are subject to change. You will also be able to get specific travel directions and information on admissions and group tours as well as handicapped accessibility.

Baltimore City Fire Museum

Baltimore City
Old Town Mall, 414 North Gay Street, Baltimore, MD 21201
410-239-6930

Hours of operation:

Thursdays, 10 a.m. – 1 p.m.

Fridays, 6 – 9 p.m.

Sundays, 1 – 4 p.m.

Also by appointment

The Baltimore City Fire Museum houses a collection of equipment, artifacts, and memorabilia that document the history of Baltimore firefighting.

Chesapeake Fire Museum

Wicomico County
P.O. Box 280, Hebron, MD 21830
410-860-0843 or 410-546-3177

Hours of operation:

By appointment only

The Chesapeake Fire Museum is a learning center directed towards entry-level personnel of the fire and rescue services. The museum shows the development of fire service from Colonial times to the present day.

Firehouse Museum

Howard County
3829 Church Road, P.O. Box 292, Ellicott City, MD 21041
410-313-2690 or 410-465-0232

Hours of operation:

Saturdays and Sundays, 12 – 4 p.m.

The Firehouse Museum maintains fire-related collections housed in an 1889 firehouse.



Fire Museum of Maryland

Baltimore County
1301 York Road, Lutherville, MD 21093
410-321-7500

Hours of operation:

Weekends only — May, September – October

Saturdays, 11 a.m. – 4 p.m.

Sundays, 1 – 5 p.m.

Daily — June – August

Monday – Saturday, 11 a.m. – 4 p.m.

Sundays, 1 – 5 p.m.

The museum preserves and displays vintage fire engines, including apparatus used in the Great Fire of Baltimore (1904). Most of the equipment is operational and hails from towns in Maryland and some surrounding states. Supporting exhibits and movies help tell the story of Maryland's firefighting history.

An Interview with Alicia Juarrero

By Barbara Wells Sarudy



Dr. Alicia Juarrero

Alicia Juarrero has been a professor of philosophy at Prince George's Community College since 1975. She serves on the Council of the National Endowment for the Humanities and is the Chair of the NEH Council Committee on State Programs. Dr. Juarrero received her PhD from the University of Miami.

How early in your life do you remember being attracted to the humanities?

I can't ever remember not reading or being read to. Among my earliest memories is my mother reading *The Little Engine That Could* to me, and later on, *Little Lord Fauntleroy*. When I was about ten my parents took me to see my first play, *The Pajama Game*, performed by an amateur group. I didn't sleep all night, I was so excited by what I had seen. The elementary school I attended focused heavily on the humanities — and it was all taught in three languages to boot! So I can't ever remember a time when I wasn't immersed in the humanities. It was just part of existence.

What inspired you to become an academic humanist?

I remember having a long phone conversation with my best friend about whether nothing was something — I must have been about twelve years old, because I remember it took place in Havana, and I came to the United States when I was thirteen.

I started out as a political science major in college — as a Cuban exile, politics were unavoidable in social conversations. Then I took two philosophy courses. One was a formal logic course (which I took to avoid a math course), the other was introduction to philosophy in which we studied the various proofs for the existence of God. When the professor pointed out that many of these assume *ex nihilo nihil fit* (from nothing, nothing comes), I suddenly remembered the conversation about "nothing" and knew right then and there that's what I wanted to think about forever. Much to my father's chagrin, I must add, who assumed that it would mean I would starve to death.

Well, I haven't, and I don't regret a minute of it.

What is the most exciting thing you have learned while studying or teaching the humanities?

The wonderful thing about teaching philosophy is that you always learn from your students. Even after twenty one years at Prince George's Community College, there's still nothing that compares with seeing a student's eyes light up when he or she finally understands a complicated issue, or when a student returns after many years to tell you how much he or she really benefited from my course. "Even if it was a killer," they always add.

Is any part of your job boring?

Of course! The paperwork and the meetings just make me glaze over. I have a reputation on campus for not being able to fill out a form correctly. And grading papers is the worst chore of all. I once dreamed that I had died and gone to heaven, and when a friend asked how I knew it was heaven, the answer was obvious, "I had a teaching assistant!" Of course, if I had a teaching assistant I never would have read an entire student paper all about "Dave Cart" — you know, the seventeenth century philosopher best known for the phrase "I think, therefore, I am."

How does your knowledge of the humanities affect your day-to-day life?

That's a difficult question to answer, but I really believe in "Don't sweat the small stuff," the corollary to which is "It's mostly small stuff." For myself, I hope I adhere to "Don't do trendy." Perhaps this comes from studying philosophy. When you are always immersed in the "big questions," it does seem to help keep priorities straight.

This time of the year [December], we're bombarded with all the commercialization and consumerism that is so much a part of our culture nowadays. It all seems so silly. But telling students that "Beauty, Truth and Goodness" are preferable to Giorgio Armani or Tommy what's-his-name inevitably provokes an amazed stare of incredulity. It's just never occurred to them that "Whoever dies with the most toys wins" may not be the best way to live one's life.

How did studying the humanities affect your religious beliefs?

Ouch! That one hurts! Perhaps the most honest answer would be to confess that I want to believe, but I don't. At least not in a personal God, or in life after death, in the sense of those old time religions. I suspect that philosophy occupies the place in my life that religion should fill but doesn't. We all yearn for some kind of transcendence, and philosophy provides the space for that longing, even if it doesn't provide answers — or perhaps because it doesn't.

On the other hand, I am very moved by religious art, architecture, and music. How can they not provoke

feelings of awe and wonder? I'm not just thinking of the Chartres and the Bach masses. I am particularly drawn to Romanesque monasteries. There's something about those old stones and the cloisters. It is difficult to deny that some places do have a sacred quality very conducive to spiritual reflection.

Can studying the humanities help us deal with our own aging and inevitable death more easily?

Philosophy, for better or worse, has become incredibly technical in modern times. No self-respecting academic philosopher today would ever write *Maimonides' Guide to the Perplexed*. And yet, the "therapy of desire" — to use Martha Nussbaum's phrase — was precisely the focus of Hellenistic philosophy.

Because most of my students will never take another philosophy course, I find myself more and more including that type of material in my syllabus. It's to be expected that students would be interested in sex, so I start my intro students on Plato's *Symposium*. But I would never have anticipated the reaction to Epictetus' *Encheiridion*. Several students have returned years after

taking the course to ask for extra copies! All have told me about some personal crisis in their lives during which they kept thinking about that work, noting "it helped a lot." Interestingly, it is often the students who complain the loudest at the beginning of the semester about having to study "dead, white European males" who end up being most appreciative of the universal value of these ideas. I can always count on Aristotle on the topics of friendship or courage to turn them around!

So to answer your question, if living well is the best preparation for dying well, I have not the slightest doubt that certain writings, particularly from classical philosophy, can help you do just that, as can, of course, good novels, drama, and poetry. That's why I particularly enjoy teaching the philosophy in literature course. And, as far as aging goes, I've never heard of a child prodigy in wisdom. Philosophy is one discipline in which most of the good work has been done by older people, so there's something to look forward to.

I believe that we are all storytellers. Our lives are certainly stories. . . . We're all tied to, led by, and energized or destroyed by the stories of our lives. So my question for you to ponder is what story will you add to the African-American experience on your watch? Because the story will live on.

— Rex Marshall Ellis

The African-American Experience in Maryland

Our next issue of Maryland Humanities



Thomas Jefferson, Frederick Douglass, and Eleanor Roosevelt each played a part in seeing that all our citizens have a voice in America. Here at the Maryland Humanities Council, we think the humanities also have an important role to play in that process.

Public discussions of the humanities — our history and culture — help define our common democracy and shape our everyday lives. The humanities make us aware that we are the custodians of our cultural heritage — its preservation and its legacy for future generations of Americans. They help us put the past in perspective and enlighten our decisions about the future — for ourselves and for our nation.

In order to continue to give Marylanders a voice in America, we need your help. If you enjoy our magazines or take part in any of the free programs sponsored by the Council, won't you please consider making a gift to help continue our efforts? Your tax deductible gift can be sent to the address below. Your continued support speaks volumes . . . and for that you have our resounding "thank you!"

Maryland

HUMANITIES

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HUMANITIES



The African American Experience in Maryland

To Our Readers

During 1996, the Maryland Humanities Council and its partners in the Coalition for Maryland History and Culture conducted a series of six forums examining *The African American Experience in Maryland*. Each program featured a keynote address by a nationally known African-American scholar and included workshops in genealogy, oral history, and preserving family photographs, documents, and artifacts. Communities of people from across our state learned about the past, sang and danced, and celebrated their heritage.

The Council wants to express its sincere appreciation to just a few of the many people and organizations who helped make *The African American Experience in Maryland* a success.

Coalition Partners

*Maryland Division of Historical and Cultural Programs, Maryland Historical Society,
Maryland Humanities Council, Maryland State Archives and Preservation Maryland*

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Keynote Speakers

*Rex Marshall Ellis, Barbara J. Fields, Sharon Harley, Tera W. Hunter,
Clement Alexander Price, Robert C. Watson*

We also wish to thank the *Division of Public Programs, National Endowment for the Humanities* for its major financial support of this project and for its encouragement throughout the entire process.

In this issue of *Maryland Humanities*, the articles are drawn from several of the keynote addresses presented as a part of *The African American Experience in Maryland*. Many of the photographs illustrating this edition are drawn from projects that the Maryland Humanities Council sponsored in the past. We hope you will enjoy both. If this issue whets your appetite for further explorations. Check out the listing of African-American cultural resources in the state that are featured in *Maryland's Best Kept Humanities Secrets*.

*Barbara Wells Sarudy
Executive Director*

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Art criticism
Comparative religion
Ethics
History
Jurisprudence
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Maryland

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What Story Will Be Written During Your Watch?

By Rex Marshall Ellis

No matter how eloquent we think we are, words don't always do it. Sometimes silence speaks volumes. Sometimes a poem can say it like nothing else. Sometimes a lone dancer moving to the beat of his or her own heart says it all. Sometimes music can make us feel, make us understand, and make us appreciate what mere words alone could never hope to do.

W. E. B. DuBois called black music the articulate message of the slaves to the world. I think what he meant is if you want to understand the depths of despair and the heights of joy expressed by a culture, listen to their music. If you've ever heard Aretha Franklin sing *Amazing Grace*, then you know what I mean. An Englishman by the name of John Newton — a slave ship captain, a deserter from the Royal Navy, a slave himself in Africa, and finally a priest — became a song writer, and one of the 347 songs he wrote back in 1779 was *Amazing Grace*. But if you've ever heard Aretha sing it in this time and in this generation, that's her song. Folklorists know that. Ethnomusicologists know that. Historians are beginning to realize that. Writing a book about Charles A. Tindley or Thomas A. Dorsey or James Cleveland can't compare to listening to their music.

In his book, *Treasury of American Folklore*, B. A. Botkin says that folklore is the scholar's word for something that is as simple and "natural as singing songs and spinning yarns. If folklore is old wine in new bottles, it is also new wine in old bottles. It not only says

back where I come from, but it also questions where do we go from here." As the stories, ballads, oral histories, and poems move from one teller, one researcher, one poet, one singer to another and another and another, it's like that snowball rolling down the side of a snow-covered hill. It's growing, broadening, changing, being enhanced by those who speak it and those who hear it. By us. We take it and make it ours, and along the way we add something to that human archive, leaving our own unique imprint.

I believe that we are all storytellers. Our lives are certainly stories. Whether we're mechanics or counselors, warehouse managers or doctors, salesmen or nurses, artists or teachers or whatever, we're all tied to, led by, and energized by or destroyed by the stories of our lives. So my question for you to ponder is what story will you add to the African-American experience on your watch? Because the story will live on. How long it lives, what influence it will have is really up to you. What will become of the stories that pass through your lips? Will the songs grow sweeter, will the words and rhythms combine to make magic of a higher order, or will they simply die on the vine for lack of sustenance or substance?

When Rosa Parks sat on that bus on a cold December day, did she know that we would be talking about her as the mother of the civil rights movement? I don't think so. When Bessie Coleman became the first black American to fly an airplane in 1926, did she know she'd be making history? Probably not. When Ida B.

Wells Barnett embarked on her anti-lynching campaign after she'd been run out of Memphis for exposing the killers of three black men, did she know we would still be discussing her in 1996? When Maria Stewart spoke out against the decolonization movement in 1832 did she know she'd be remembered today? What about Toni Morrison, Joslyn Elders, Carolyn Mosely Braun, Jackie Joyner, Billie Holliday, Maria Curry, or any number of African-American females who have made tremendous contributions to the American scene? They were all following a fire in their bellies, a fire that could not be quenched by fame, money, politics or greed. For them the cause was personal.

I was born in a little town in Surry County, Virginia, called Claremont. My father was a brick mason, a carpenter, a plumber — you name it, he could do it. He felt he would be better able to find work on the other side of the river, so we moved to Williamsburg when I was a year old. For as long as I can remember we lived in a house that my father built himself. In those days, when someone asked you where you were from you replied East Williamsburg, never York County or Penniman Road. That connoted a lower class neighborhood that most of my friends and I didn't wish to align ourselves with. It was just too country. I grew up in the vicinity of what many consider the world's foremost outdoor history museum, a fact that many of my friends and I never understood or appreciated. Ironically, I never knew or even suspected that Colonial Williamsburg had

anything to do with me as an African American. The significance of it as a place to visit was never even talked about, except by a few well-meaning teachers who were very careful not to mention that it was the capital of a slave-holding colony.

I remember once during my elementary school years our class was marched to a nearby highway to wave at Queen Elizabeth on her way into Williamsburg. I knew that she was a famous person, but it never dawned on me that she was coming to visit a famous place. To us, Colonial Williamsburg was simply the place out-of-town visitors were trying to find as they blocked traffic. The restoration, as most people in town called it, was a hindrance. Nothing more. To those of us who lived in the black community during the fifties and sixties it was simply a place you worked in the summer or after school to get extra money, very much like McDonald's or Pizza Hut. Almost everyone I knew worked there at one time or another. My brother worked as a dishwasher, my father once laid bricks at Bassett Hall, Mr. Rockefeller's hangout. My uncle was a bellhop at the Williamsburg Inn and my next door neighbor was the housekeeping supervisor for the Motor House. No one I knew was getting rich there, but no one was refusing to work there either.

Even then I sensed there was something about Colonial Williamsburg. It always had an aura about it — whether you acknowledged it or not,



Friends at Kent Narrows, 1987. Photo by Marion Warren from the MHC-sponsored project, Bringing Back the Bay. Photo courtesy of the Maryland State Archives, MSA SC 1890-BP-21,744.

it was there. It was in the faces of all who worked there. Whether you worked as a janitor, waiter, busboy, or maid, working at Colonial Williamsburg made you feel ashamed. The way people looked at you, a flippant gesture, a caustic look, a condescending smile. Each took a toll no matter how subtle, no matter how small. Each family handled that shame differently.

I would be a full time employee at Colonial Williamsburg before I understood what the source of that feeling was. It was slavery. Colonial Williamsburg constantly reminded us all of a place and time that flourished because we had been slaves. That was why my dad and most black people who lived on the periphery of town felt the way they did. They were forced economically to work at a place that reminded them of a time they desperately were trying to forget. A time that was responsible for their continued dependence. No one maligned those

who worked there. But anyone who went there to visit had to be white or crazy.

Now my knowledge of slavery and its legacy was equal to the rest of those living in my neighborhood. We knew virtually nothing about it. We understood what a slave was and knew only too well that we were not enjoying the full rights of citizenship. But that was all we knew. So anything that brought up the institution responsible for our present condition was to be avoided like the plague. So when I began working at Colonial Williamsburg in 1979, I should not have been surprised at what I found. I was reminded anew of a two-hundred-year-old condition that for some reason continued to live and flourish in the colonial capital. Most blacks were still holding the same kinds of jobs, relegated to the same status that they had when I was a busboy years before. Slavery itself was no longer legal and no one was forced to work, but the same

psychological forces that began the initial conflict — economics, racism, the need to create a dominant social order — all still could be seen there.

So, in addition to worrying about puberty and finding a girlfriend and being cool and wondering what I was going to wear each day and doing homework and dealing with parents who didn't understand me, I had to deal with being black, and a black male at that.

How do you tell a story about that and make it useful? You certainly can't hide from it or ignore it because it's all a part of what you are. It is part of the customs, the behavior, and the expression of all of us — just as it is with no embellishments, no codicils, and no adaptation. Botkin says that folklore as we find it "perpetuates human ignorance, perversity, and depravity along with human wisdom and goodness." We cannot deny or condone this baser side. It is a part of the history as well, and as such should be preserved and told.

You've got a story to tell, too. You don't have to leave your hometown in order for who you are and what you do to make a difference. Your stuff is important — that chair, those glasses of gramma's, papa's Bible, mama's love letters, those songs you sing after Christmas dinner, even that old two-seater outhouse that Uncle John built. We've got enough people telling us that our history isn't worth the trouble; we've got enough doubts about our own abilities. What we need is more faith. What we need is

to stop talking about what we're going to do and do it. What we need to do is understand that we have a great deal to offer. What we need to do is realize that if we don't do it — if we don't preserve, if we don't honor, if we don't teach, if we don't enjoy, if we don't revel in and remember our history — then we have no one to blame for it not being a part of our community's consciousness, but ourselves.

In 1993 three men I have a great deal of respect for passed on within two weeks of each other. Thomas A. Dorsey on January 23, Thurgood Marshall on January 24, and Arthur Ashe on February 6. What fascinated me about these men is that they never fired a gun, they never smashed a face, but they are the best examples of warriors that I know. Their courage went beyond what they could do with a fist or a gun. And you can believe the road they traveled was not easy. I imagine they stood in the face of hate, anger, injustice, narrow mindedness, shame, and humiliation on a daily basis, but they continued to walk their talk, they continued to fight the good fight, they had fire in their bellies.

What story will be told about you? What story will you tell about yourself? How will you assure yourself that you are a faithful steward of the torch you carry on your watch? Your eloquence is not enough. We are inundated with eloquence that is as barren as the desert. Talent is not enough. The world is filled with talent that glorifies violence and hate. Meaning

well is not enough. The road to hell is paved with good intentions. Money is good, and it is wonderful when you can earn it doing something that you love, but the amount of money you make is no indication that you are doing something worthwhile. We consistently pay for things that are of little value.

The words we share are worthy of every ounce of excellence that we can muster. We can use our words to heal or to hurt, to push out or to invite in, to motivate understanding or to perpetuate barriers, to spread hate or to nurture love — it's our choice. Seize the day and be sure that the stories you have to tell about our history and culture continue to soar with the winds of time and fly even higher because they have been enriched by your special gifts.

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Archaeology and the Material Culture of Enslaved Africans and African Americans

By Ywone Edwards and Maria Franklin

Within the rapidly expanding field of historical archaeology, the study of African Americans is perhaps the fastest growing specialty. It is certainly becoming the most controversial, as archaeologists seek evidence of the origins and development of African American culture in the material remains left behind by both enslaved and free blacks. Although artifacts produced or used by blacks are their main body of evidence, archaeologists incorporate information derived from various other sources, including documents, prints, and oral testimony, to study the diverse experiences of African Americans and the social processes that affected their lives. Archaeologists actively search the scholarship of anthropologists, historians, folklorists, and geographers for insights regarding the use and meaning of the things they dig up on slave quarters and other African-American sites.

The first archaeological study expressly concerned with the lifeways of enslaved Africans took place in 1967 on the Kingsley Plantation in Duvall County, Florida. Charles Fairbanks of the University of Florida excavated several nineteenth-century slave cabins and unearthed numerous artifacts and dietary remains. He had expected to find concrete examples of "Africanisms," or cultural traits that exhibited a direct influence from Africa. Upon observing that the artifacts consisted solely of European and American manufactured objects, Fairbanks assumed that the enslaved occupants at Kingsley had been acculturated.

Since Fairbanks's pioneering efforts, archaeologists studying the African-American past have refined their theoretical and methodological approaches. If archaeologists today were to analyze the artifacts excavated by Fairbanks, they would not be so quick to conclude that these enslaved Africans had been acculturated. One obvious clue would be the preponderance of bowls over plates found at Kingsley. When viewed with the faunal remains these suggest a liquid-based diet consisting mainly of "one-pot meals," a popular West African cuisine. Archaeologists would also be aware that European-made objects could be used in ways not originally intended by their makers — alternative, non-European uses influenced by other cultural traditions.

Historical archaeologists have also broadened their definition of relevant data and now routinely recover more diverse assemblages of excavated material, which include samples of pollen, seeds, and other botanical remains. These are now recognized as just as important to identifying differences in food preferences as the animal bones traditionally recovered from slave sites. More importantly, they offer potential insights into other aspects of foodways, folk medicine practices, and curing.

Studies of the African-American past have also changed in terms of the kinds of anthropological theories employed by historical archaeologists to account for the nature of culture and its transformation. Although there are several competing intellectual approaches to

comprehending the African-American past, one theoretical framework in particular has been adopted by most archaeologists and historians who study slavery and its aftermath. This is the notion of "creolization," a model of change that focuses on the nature of cultural exchanges and how new forms develop as a result of these interactions. It offers guidelines on how best to explore both conscious and unconscious factors that continue to affect cultural change. Knowing how a culture forms and evolves goes hand in hand with the concern to discover the diverse roles and meanings of material objects in that culture.

While cultivating an understanding of the creolization process, archaeologists have demonstrated how material culture, including the built environment, holds multiple meanings and functions for different members of the same society. One artifact type found within enslaved communities throughout the African Diaspora is the bead. Yet beads meant different things to different people and served various functions even within the same society. Since beads have been found from Africa to the Americas on archaeological sites and are referred to in historical documents, their research promises further insights into enslaved African and African-American values and norms. From evidence gathered from sites in places like South Africa and Zimbabwe, we know that beads were used as personal adornment for thousands of years in Africa. The centrality of beads in rituals ranging from adornment to spiritual symbols is



Members of the Maryland Normal School Band. Established in Baltimore in 1867, the school was intended as an institution for training Negro teachers. Following its move to Bowie in 1908, the school's emphasis switched for a time to industrial subjects, but in 1928 it became an accredited four-year college, again specializing in teacher education. From the Council-sponsored project, Maryland Time Exposures, 1840–1940. Photo courtesy of the Maryland State Archives, Robert G. Merrick Archive, MdHR G 1477-6125.

part of the African connections in the New World.

In the United States, beads have been recovered on slave sites in Virginia, Texas, Louisiana, South Carolina, Georgia, New York, Tennessee, and Maryland. Burials, trash pits, and root cellars where they may have ended up through accidental loss are some of the main areas where beads have been found. There is ample archaeological and historical evidence to demonstrate that beads continued to be valued by peoples of African origins during, and perhaps especially because of, slavery.

For the Rich Neck (Virginia) slave quarter study, we are using concepts and interpretive approaches that best illuminate the conditions of life for slaves at this site. Root cellars and the remains of a brick chimney are among the main evidence that have survived from this duplex that once housed field laborers. The

artifact assemblage of beads, shells, and buttons, of ceramics, tools, and animal and seed remains, is helping us to understand more about slavery in Virginia. The presentation of data from this and other sites, such as the Carter's Grove (Virginia) slave quarter, uses the creolization model and integrates ethnographic and ethnohistoric evidence from West Africa and the South to interpret the function and meaning of artifact categories like beads — interpretations that remain plausible even in the absence of conventional documentary information.

Beads recovered from Rich Neck include blue, green, and white glass beads, and shell beads. One of the first questions we asked ourselves was "how did enslaved Africans and African Americans at Rich Neck procure beads?" Known lists of planter provisions to slaves do not indicate that beads were supplied, not surprisingly, since often only the bare necessities were provided. Some

beads entered the colonies as part of objects worn by African captives as they were brought to the New World. William Hugh Grove observed during his travels through Williamsburg in 1732 that newly arrived slaves wore nothing but beads about their necks, arms, and ankles. Most of the glass beads probably entered and circulated within the enslaved communities through purchase and barter. Merchants most likely knew that some enslaved Afro-Virginians had a strong preference for "beads and baubles."

Historical research shows that slaves regularly purchased goods from merchants. In addition to commercially-manufactured beads, it appears that the Rich Neck occupants were also making beads from shells and other materials. They probably incorporated "found" objects into their repertoire of beadwork. Particular beads may have been chosen for their colors and types. European

traders knew and exploited Africans' preferences for certain types of beads. Blue beads are common among the small finds from African-American sites, and archaeologists have suggested that their presence and use probably reflected a belief in the Muslim world, including parts of Africa, that they protect against "the evil eye."

The emphasis on dress and adornment spoke to concerns for beauty and personal appearance. Beads were part of the ensemble to assert self- and group identities. They were made into objects that were worn on arms, wrists, and around necks and waists. Beads could also be worn sewn on clothing as both decoration and protection. Yet some beads were concealed on the body and elsewhere in containers to empower their bearers.

A recent count of beads recovered from the eighteenth-century African Burial Ground site in New York listed 145 beads representing fourteen varieties. Some Africans were buried with beaded ornaments around their waists and their necks. Project Conservator Cheryl La Roche described one burial of particular interest; that of an adult female who "was buried with a strand of approximately 100 beads around her pelvis." More evidence of Africans' and their descendants' burial and ritual practices was found on the Caribbean island of Barbados. One burial from a slave cemetery is believed to be that of a folk healer. It contained an elaborate necklace of cowrie shells, drilled dog teeth, a fish vertebra, and fifteen beads.

Among Africans transported to Virginia were representatives of cultural groups who knew ways to

map relationships between the world of the living and the world of the dead. The world of the dead was considered a watery world beneath that of the living. Things and places connected to water and the dead were considered hallowed by such association. Spirits were integral to everyday life, for events from epidemics to rainfall could be medicinal materials that sometimes included beads and beaded objects. This knowledge and these beliefs were important during slavery and helped the enslaved to deal with adverse conditions such as punishment, poor access to goods, and the threat of, or actual separation of families. These beliefs and practices have syncretized with elements from Christianity and Islamic traditions to produce a vibrant African-American culture that has influenced the formation of black religious and secular groups.

Over the years, we have learned that it takes more than a "standing in awe attitude" to interpret the substantial and growing body of archaeological and documentary evidence from African-American sites. As archaeological anthropologists of the past we must continually hone our skills by engaging in multidisciplinary research. Already, the archaeology of slavery has benefited from our examinations of the work of art historians, folklorists, historical architects, historians, and cultural anthropologists who are studying African and African-American yards, houses, and spiritual and belief practices. These studies have shown that Africans and their descendants in the New World manipulated spiritual and secular forces through the symbolic use of a broad range of materials such as shells, glass, ceramic, and

metal objects and specific colors such as red and white. Blacks were active participants with personal stakes in making their differences and similarities known. They made distinctions not only among themselves but among other racial and cultural groups. In their efforts to create alternative functions and give different meanings to objects, blacks drew on African and other cultural principles.

In conclusion, it is important to keep in mind that archaeological studies are not undertaken to simply reinforce or disprove the historical record. In the case of slave sites especially, it is naive to expect that answers to many of the most important questions about what is found in the ground will come from documentary evidence. The challenge is to ask anthropological questions of data from various disciplines treating each as an independent source with its own biases. The archaeological record has great potential for broadening our knowledge of the past and by using diverse sources and multiple perspectives, archaeologists have attained more informed levels of understanding. Undoubtedly, archaeological studies of the African-American past will be more comprehensible for these efforts.

This article was excerpted from "Archaeology and the Material Culture of Enslaved Africans and African Americans," which appeared in the Colonial Williamsburg Research Review (1995). Ywone Edwards and Maria Franklin are with the department of archaeological research at Colonial Williamsburg.

To 'Joy My Freedom:

African-American Working Class Women After the Civil War

By Tera W. Hunter

Over the last several years I've been doing research on African-American working-class women, primarily domestic workers in Atlanta from the 1860s to 1920. I am currently writing a book on this topic: *"To 'Joy My Freedom": Southern Black Women's Lives and Labor After the Civil War*.

The title is a quote taken from a recently freed slave woman after the Civil War. Asked by a white northern missionary why she would want to leave the comforts of her master's home for the uncertainties and hardships that would accompany freedom, she replied simply but profoundly, "To 'joy my freedom." Freedom was an opportunity to protect her dignity, to preserve the integrity of her family, and to secure fair terms for her labor. But to enjoy the splendid fruits of freedom was not a simple ambition in a society yet to fulfill its democratic ideals.

"Mammy" is one of the most enduring images of African-American women in American culture — even today. This is an image that gets a periodic makeover as we have witnessed most recently in the transformation of Aunt Jemima on pancake boxes.

Gone is the kerchief and the stereotyped facial features, but the message is still the same — and the old image endures. The image of Mammy usually brings to mind a woman who placed loyalty and subservience to her master far above her own needs and those of her family and people. White southerners glorified this image after the abolition of slavery in 1865, to establish a model of the faithful slave in hopes that newly free and freeborn generations

would take it to heart and imitate its submissive qualities. "Mammy" was not a self-originating ideal, it was not an image that black women claimed or identified as their own. Mammy was not any black woman's real name.

My work has largely been a search for those "real" names — both literally and metaphorically — and for new knowledge about African-American women who made their living as wage workers. It also examines some of the underlying anxieties that prompted Euro-Americans to misname or rename oppressed people to satisfy their own needs. While my study is concerned with the urban South it focuses primarily on Atlanta, Georgia. Atlanta, originally an isolated railroad depot in the hinterlands of north Georgia, was in its infancy at the onset of the Civil War. By the end of war, the growth of the railroad and the city's strategic service to the Confederacy had helped it gain a reputation as a center of manufacture and commerce. The Atlanta elite, consisting of businessmen, politicians, and notable journalists, self-consciously took advantage of the city's rising prominence to promote it as the model for social and economic development of the New South. The New South would distinguish itself from the old by endorsing industrialization and a laissez-faire capitalist economy and promoting ideas associated with modernization programs.

Atlanta was a city with a large number of black women, and most had to earn a living — from adoles-

cence through old age — as domestic laborers to take care of their families. Proportionately more white families hired domestic workers in Atlanta than almost anywhere else in the United States. Middle- and upper-class whites hired black women to cook, clean, take care of their kids, and especially to do their laundry. Working-class whites, many who were poor themselves, hired black women to do a portion of their housework. If poor white workers could afford to hire black women to do housework, this tells you how little domestic laborers were paid. It also suggests that domestic work was an important signifier of racial privilege. Whites in the South hired black women not merely for pragmatic purposes, but also as a mark of social status.

How did these black women resist oppression? Through everyday acts of resistance and through occasional, overt, organized protest. What do I mean by everyday resistance? Everyday resistance refers to the ordinary weapons or strategies of fighting oppression that powerless people — peasants, slaves, industrial workers, and other subordinated groups — rely on to contest the claims of the powerful. These are acts that usually require little coordination or planning — ways of fighting back that don't make the headlines and don't involve dramatic or direct confrontations with authority figures. Examples include foot-dragging, evasion, slander, cunning, and pilfering. In the American South, African Americans had learned over many centuries how to be very adept at everyday resistance.

Black women who migrated to Atlanta in large numbers after the Civil War in the 1860s faced many obstacles to survival. Their disproportionate number, relative to black men, made it imperative for them to engage in wage work although their options were severely circumscribed. Black women were confined almost exclusively (with the exception of a few teachers and seamstresses) to domestic work. Though few employment opportunities existed outside domestic work, they demanded notable concessions from their employers within this occupation.

One concession they insisted on was to live in their own homes, rather than with their employers, to maximize the distinction between slavery and freedom. This was a practice that employers often disliked as it was inconvenient to have servants living off the premises and unavailable at any time of day or night. Black women recognized that the benefits of live-in service accrued mostly to employers. So-called "free" accommodations and food were usually meager, especially in comparison to the sacrifices made in exchange for separate lives of their own.

Household workers also made choices regarding specific jobs. Laundry workers represented the largest single category of women in waged housework in Atlanta. By 1900, there were more laundresses in Atlanta than all other domestic workers combined. Black women, especially mothers and married women, preferred laundry work because it gave them more flexibility. They could incorporate their own



Formal portrait taken in Westminster, Maryland. Photo courtesy of the Maryland State Archives, Robert G. Merrick Archive, MdHR G 1477-6342.

housework and childcare with their wage work because they washed the clothes of their patrons in their own homes. Washerwomen picked up loads of dirty clothes from their employers on Monday; washed, dried, and ironed throughout the week; and returned the finished garments on Saturday. The labor gave black women more autonomy; they were exempt from white employer supervision, afforded a day "off," allowed to care for their children and perform other duties intermittently, and able to incorporate other family members into the work routine.

Laundry work had other benefits because it was often performed communally. Women who washed

in nearby streams or at common wells could commiserate over shared struggles, swap news and information, and ultimately create the networks of reciprocity that sustained them. The practical value of this support system was realized at grave moments such as sickness, unemployment, disability, or death.

On the other hand, women who worked as cooks, maids, or child nurses spent much of their time in white workplaces where their own ambitions were often thwarted by employers. Household workers fought against the long hours and low wages that deprived them of the standard of living they thought they deserved. When employers failed to compromise or relent, the workers

implemented their own retribution. They seized time off by quitting. This did not guarantee improvement at the next job, but it did deprive employers of unmitigated control. They used time off in temporary stints as well, frequently returning to the same employer after fulfilling whatever "emergency" had prompted their leave.

Quitting to take time off was a creative maneuver within the strictures of wage work. Quitting took on qualities of everyday resistance, especially when it was loosely coordinated as covert boycotts. Many domestic workers belonged to secret societies or mutual aid organizations that they sometimes transformed into trade unions. These organizations provided benefits for sickness, death, widows, orphans, and unemployment; as well as outlets for education and socializing. Domestic laborers were active and visible members and leaders in such societies as the Daughters of Bethel, Daughters of Zion, Sisters of Friendship, and Sisters of Love. These organizations that were designed for mutual benefit could be very subversive by bolstering workers' ability to quit work with confidence. Domestic workers often used secret societies to blacklist or boycott employers who violated their rights.

Strikes are actions that are usually not associated with domestic workers. In fact, most historians have assumed that domestic workers (across race and region) were passive in the face of oppression. Historians have often pointed out the difficulty of creating solidarity among domestic workers, given that domestics usually work in isolation in private households scattered throughout

cities. Black women in the urban South, however, challenged this conventional wisdom. They did so most dramatically in the summer of 1881.

In early July, twenty women and a few men met in a church to form a trade organization. After the meeting, the group instructed black ministers throughout the city to inform their congregations of a mass public meeting in another church. At that time, they formalized as the Washing Society, elected officers, appointed committees, designated subsidiary societies for each of the city's five wards, and established a uniform price for washing.

On July 19, the Washing Society members called a strike, in order to achieve higher fees at a uniform rate. Despite the expectations of opponents that the strike could be broken immediately, the women endured. The "Washing Amazons," as they were called by the opposition, walked door-to-door throughout their neighborhoods to recruit supporters. A visiting committee approached the homes of every nonaffiliated washerwoman to urge her to join the organization or at least to honor the strike. The recruiters encountered several women after they had already picked up their daily wash loads and begun the work. With little consideration for the inconvenience to their customers, the new recruits joined immediately and returned the clothes unwashed or wringing wet. The ranks of the strikers and their supporters rose from twenty to three thousand within three weeks. The entire black community at large was involved and the entire city was affected by this event because so many whites hired laundresses.

Some whites in the city acknowledged the impact of the strike and its effectiveness, even as they attributed its origins to outside agitators. Employers, city authorities, and businessmen responded with a series of measures to end the strike: they arrested the strikers organizing in their neighborhoods, they proposed to build a commercial laundry to increase competition and put them out of business or at least diminish the women's monopoly, and they proposed a \$25 business tax to be levied by the city on each individual woman who belonged to the Washing Society.

The washerwomen responded to these efforts in an open letter to the mayor:

We, the members of our society, are determined to stand to our pledge and make extra charges for washing, and we have agreed, and are willing to pay \$25 or \$50 for licenses as a protection, so we control the washing for the city. We can afford to pay these licenses and will do it before we will be defeated, and then we will have control of the city's washing at our own prices, as the city has control of our husbands' work at their prices. Don't forget this. We hope to hear from your council Tuesday morning. We mean business this week or no washing.

Rather than accept the license as the exorbitant tax it was intended to be, they suggested that the license fee would be used to demand the rights and privileges of private business. In reality, the women could not afford such fees, but their rhetoric revealed their determination.

Their demand for self-regulation and independence drew on the strength of the communities that they had helped to create in their neighbor-

hoods through communal labor. Their words and their actions also revealed an astute political consciousness. Here were a group of uneducated women making public demands to improve their situation as workers in an occupation hardly appreciated. They took a public stand on labor that was considered the individual prerogative of white employers to determine as they saw fit.

None of the measures designed or proposed to defeat the strikers were entirely effective. In fact, other household workers were inspired to organize as a result of the washerwomen's efforts. We don't know for sure exactly how the strike ended, because newspapers stopped reporting on it. But the strike, regardless of outcome on wage issues, was a political victory.

A few weeks after the strike apparently petered out, there were rumors in the city that all household workers were threatening to call a general strike. There is no evidence that this second strike ever materialized or precisely how it was averted. The newspaper warned white housewives to watch out — a warning that would have been unnecessary if the first strike had been ineffective. What is most important about the second strike, however, is its timing.

As the women were striking in July, the city was preparing to host the International Cotton Exposition. The event was designed as a masterful public relations event to boost the South — especially the image of Atlanta as the leader of the new South — and would attract thousands of visitors from across the United States, as well as from abroad. The urban boosters who

planned the event hoped to persuade northern capitalists to invest in cotton textile manufacturing and other industrial and commercial enterprises. The planners wanted to use the occasion to showcase southern workers, depicting racial harmony and happy, passive workers to win over northern investors.

Ironically, as the planning for this event was taking place, the washerwomen in Atlanta were already challenging the image of docility. Not only had they held a city-wide strike in July, they had threatened to organize a general strike of all domestic workers in October — at the precise opening of the International Cotton Exposition. The shrewd timing of this threat is highly symbolic. Black women understood the importance of their labor to the functioning of the city. Thousands of visitors were expected to descend on Atlanta, and the city did not have enough hotels to host them. White families were asked to board the visitors in their homes. And guess who was responsible for doing the cooking, cleaning, and washing for the out-of-towners? Without black women's labor the city would have come to a halt at a time of unparalleled need for their services. Not to mention, the embarrassment it would have caused to a city trying to put its best foot forward. Household workers would not only have reneged on the city's pledges of hospitality, they would have also exposed the underside of the New South image.

The strike in July 1881, the threatened strike in October, and all the everyday acts of resistance leading up to these openly rebellious moments speak volumes symbolically about African-American women's consciousness of their oppressed

position in the new South. Domestic labor was synonymous with black women in freedom as it was in slavery, and the active efforts by whites to exploit black labor clearly circumscribed African-American women's lives. Yet black women fought for dignity, to be treated with respect, and for a fair chance to earn the necessary resources for making a decent living. And they fought for autonomy to make decisions about their work lives that were commensurate with their responsibilities to their families and communities.

Employers could not fathom the motivations that inspired domestic workers to everyday resistance or the strikes. But employers also knew they could not afford to take a pacified work force for granted — despite the comforting images of Mammy they popularized. They turned to coercion, repression, and even in extreme cases to violence, and sought the support of the law to counter black women's resistance and force their submission. The conflict between workers and employers evident in the strike and in everyday resistance in the nineteenth century would continue for many more decades throughout the twentieth century.

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Evidence of Africanisms in the Diaspora

By Robert Watson

Lawrence W. Levine, historian at the University of California at Berkeley, believes that African-American culture and slavery has been examined through a number of assumptions that make it very difficult to understand the role that African culture played in the development of thought and society in the United States.

One assumption is that political and economic subordination led to cultural emasculation. That theory assumes Africans arrived in the United States and South America with a blank mind, thus allowing the imposition of European values on Africans without their resistance. A second assumption is that the people of Africa came from a society marked by a variety of languages, customs, religions, and institutions, thus making it impossible for them to maintain their traditional cultures when they were mixed together indiscriminately in the United States, the Caribbean and South America.

These assumptions were popular in mainstream scholarship from the Emancipation Proclamation up until the 1950s. Today we are looking at the retention of Africanisms in the Americas, particularly in the United States. This research reveals that the same environmental factors that helped to maintain African cultural patterns in the Caribbean and in South America were present in parts of the United States. Africans may have arrived here empty handed, but they did not arrive empty-headed.



Baltimore arabber, 1992. From the Council-sponsored project, Maryland's Vanishing Lives. Photo by Edwin H. Remsburg.

Europeans looked to Africans for advice — how to cultivate wheat in Maryland, indigo in South Carolina, sugar in Cuba, and later on cotton in much of the United States. This is a little known fact because you really have to dig into the scholarship to find that Africans had long been involved in the cultivation of cotton. The wild plants, herbs, and roots of seveneenth- and eighteenth-century Virginia and Maryland resembled the types of plants that Africans were accustomed to on their home continent.

Scholars have come to realize that white planters had a vested interest in having Africans maintain their

cultural distinctiveness because it made it easier for them to justify the enslavement of people if they were considered primitive, docile, child-like, uncivilized, or barbaric.

Another myth is that Africans could not read. In fact, before 1831 it was not against the law (as a rule) to teach Africans to read and write, and many Africans were taught to do so before that date. But Africans came from a world of sound. Sound was extremely important — the chants, the shouting, the dances. They were all primary forms of communication in a preliterate world where vision was not needed to convey the words of a people.

The storyteller in the Chesapeake Bay area is very much alive today. The preacher is a very important storyteller. According to W. E. B. DuBois, the preacher remains the most influential person in the black community, just as he would have been in Charles County, Maryland, in 1701 or 1750 or 1850. The continuing oral tradition we see today is evidence of the retention of Africanisms in the Americas.

Religion was as important for Africans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as it had been in the seventeenth century. Slaves embraced a religion that was personalized: God is intimate. God is always there. He is not remote. He is not distant. He is always immediate. He is not abstract. Today, in the twentieth century, religion in the African-American community is still intimate, personal, and immediate. It remains that way because enslaved Africans would move off to areas

where they could worship as they saw fit. As Frederick Douglass pointed out, Africans would conduct their own services, despite having gone to church earlier in the day with their masters.

The slave population in Maryland grew very slowly as it did in most of the colonies. In 1660 there were not more than 1,700 slaves living in Virginia and Maryland. By 1680 slavery in these two colonies still had not grown dramatically, no more than 4,600. But if we fast-forward to 1790, we find that the Maryland population had increased dramatically to the point of 100,000 slaves in the state and possibly 8,000 free blacks living in small towns. Now, for this population to grow as it did and to maintain itself and survive and prosper, it had to be true that the Africans were a very strong people. They retained much of what they recalled from Africa, which was

continuously being reinforced by newly arriving Africans to these shores. It is my hope that we will move towards a seamless interpretation of American history — whether we call it multiculturalism or diverse interpretation — this evidence will eventually find its way into mainstream scholarship and into the minds of the masses.

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Sgt. Franklin Williams, home on leave, and his best girl, Ellen Hardin, split a soda in a Baltimore ice cream parlor, May 1942. Photo by Arthur Rothstein, courtesy of the Library of Congress.



Justice in Moderation:

The Evil Genius of Compromise During the Civil War

By Barbara J. Fields

Of all the things that happened to me in the immediate aftermath of the broadcast of the PBS documentary, *The Civil War*, the most disquieting was a remark by a colleague at Columbia (not a historian, I am relieved to say). Approaching me just outside the campus, she told me how much she had admired the broadcast. But it was what she most admired about it that disturbed me. The series made clear, she told me, the utter pointlessness of war, a lesson she found especially welcome as the United States prepared for war in the Persian Gulf.

That colleague was not alone in concluding that the Civil War was pointless. Shelby Foote said more or less the same thing during the series, when he explained that the war occurred because Americans' "genius for compromise" had failed them. You could smell the same judgment in the films' sequences about the Confederate surrender, in which Union soldiers saluted their defeated enemy, and officers magnanimously permitted the defeated rebels to return home with their weapons in hand and their dignity intact. You could smell it even more strongly in the sequences showing newsreels in which Union and Confederate veterans embraced each other as brothers, and the narrator suggested that only temporary insanity could have led those brothers to fight each other so murderously.

The truth is not so comforting. Many of those "noble" Confederate veterans returned home to beat, torture, and murder Afro-American veterans and rape their mothers, wives, daughters, and sisters, and to

plunder houses, steal or vandalize crops, and burn schools and churches belonging to freed men and women. Afro-American men who fought in the Union army, along with their families, became special targets for vengeful returning rebels. A soldier in Kent County, Maryland, complained that he and other veterans from his neighborhood in Queen Anne's County, "darcent walk out of an evening" for fear of being attacked by ex-Confederates. A "white-haired old colored man" in Kent County suffered insults and taunts until his tormentors learned that his son had been in the Union army. "That," according to an agent of the Freedmen's Bureau, "was sufficient cause to punish the old man and one of the rowdies struck him over the head and kicked him, meanwhile the white spectators laughed in chorus."¹ I have taken these examples from Maryland, but they could serve as well for any area of the ex-slave South to which Afro-American veterans returned. The defeated foe showed them no magnanimity, not in the United States of Lyncherdom, as Mark Twain called it. The newsreels of the emotional veterans' reunions showed no example of a Confederate veteran embracing a Union veteran of African descent. No wonder. Had Afro-American veterans intruded upon those comradely events, no one could have pretended not to remember what all the fuss had been about. The great abolitionist — and Maryland native — Frederick Douglass spent the last years of his life imploring Americans

not to forget what the Civil War had been about.

The view that the Civil War was pointless has a respectable historical pedigree — at least, if your standards of respectability are loose enough. It was the point of view of people who would probably be called *moderates* in the harebrained vocabulary of today's political journalism, although they would probably have identified themselves as conservative. In the eyes of the miscalled moderates of the Civil War era, only white citizens had a legitimate stake in the outcome of the war. One of their favorite rhetorical ploys was to accuse secessionists and abolitionists alike of attaching too much importance to the Afro-Americans. "Both have Cuffee on the brain," they would charge — cuffee being a disparaging generic term for a person of African descent. Characteristic of this position was a remark of Brigadier General Jeremiah T. Boyle, commander of the Union army's District of Western Kentucky, in which he denounced abolitionist soldiers as "scarcely above a class amongst us who care more for their negroes or poultry, than they do for their Government."²

The Unionist governor of Maryland, Thomas Holliday Hicks, offered a classic statement of the "moderate" position in November 1861: "I care nothing for the Devilish Nigger difficulty, I desire to save the union. . . . If we can but keep away outside Issues, and all things foreign from the one, true, great design of all Patriots, we shall save the union."³

Hicks's counterpart in Kentucky, Governor Thomas E. Bramlette, held similar views — although, being from Kentucky, he expressed them at a date when events had forced the racist unionists of Maryland and elsewhere to move on. Thus, in September 1864, when the Emancipation Proclamation had brought at least conjectural freedom to slaves in the Confederate states and when Maryland was two months away from emancipating its slaves under a new state constitution, the governor of Kentucky was writing to Abraham Lincoln to protest the intrusion into the war of the issue of freedom for the slaves:

In common with the loyal masses of Kentucky my Unionism is unconditional. We are for preserving the rights and liberties of our race. . . . We are not willing to sacrifice a single life, or imperil the smallest right of free white men for the sake of the negro. We repudiate the Counsels of those who say the Government must be restored with Slavery, or that it must be restored without Slavery, as a condition of their Unionism. We are for the restoration of our Government throughout our entire limits regardless of what may happen to the negro. We reject as spurious the Unionism of all who make the Status of the negro a sine qua non to peace and unity. We are not willing to imperil the life liberty and happiness of our own race and people for the freedom or enslavement of the negro. To permit the question of the freedom or slavery of the negro, to obstruct the restoration of National authority and unity is a blood stained sin. Those whose sons are involved in this strife

*demand, as they have the right to do, that the negro be ignored in all questions of settlement, and not make his condition — whether it shall be free or slave, an obstacle to the restoration of national unity & peace.*⁴

A slaveholding Kentuckian who was also a Union army officer, Colonel Marcellus Mundy, offered his own version of the Cuffee-on-the-brain argument. Complaining about soldiers from Michigan who requested passes to take the escaped slaves of rebel owners home with them to Michigan, Colonel Mundy wrote to headquarters that he was “ashamed to find so many officers disposed to debase the noble principle for which we are battleing and degenerate it into a mere negro freeing machine.”⁵ Colonel Mundy intended no irony in thus contrasting the “noble principle” of union with the debased principle of freedom. Nor was he alone among Union officers in his twisted moral priorities. Major General John A. Dix used kindred language to make a similar point. Warning a subordinate against sheltering fugitive slaves and thereby mingling the issue of emancipation with that of union, he declared: “Our cause is a holy one, and should be kept free from all taint.”⁶

Just cast about in your mind for a moment the moral viewpoint that such language reveals. To Union, a set of man-made political arrangements, these compromising moderates apply the grand terms *noble and holy*. To human freedom, declared by their own country's Declaration of

Independence to be a gift of God, they apply the terms *degenerate, taint, and debase*. Thomas De Quincey once made the following ironic observation about murder: “If once a man indulges himself in murder, very soon he comes to think little of robbing; and from robbing he comes next to drinking and sabbath-breaking, and from that to incivility and procrastination.” De Quincey's warning that a person who once commits murder might eventually stoop to procrastination reminds me of the moderate compromisers' relative ranking of Union and freedom.

Observing the American Civil War from England, Thomas Carlyle expressed his contempt for both sides, observing that the rebels said to the Negro, in effect, “God bless you, and be a slave,” while the Yankee said “God damn you, and be free.” His contempt would have been complete had he gone on to characterize the compromising middle, whose message was neither “God bless you, and be a slave” nor “God damn you, and be free,” but the worst of both: “God damn you, and stay a slave.” (Not — mind you — that Thomas Carlyle, of all pots, had any business calling the kettle black.)

Abraham Lincoln's point of view belonged to the same family of so-called moderates. (After all, although we associate Lincoln with Illinois, he — like Jefferson Davis, the president of the Confederacy — was born in Kentucky.) To be fair, Lincoln was more enlightened than

Governor Hicks, Colonel Mundy, or General Dix as well: He, at least, privately considered slavery a moral wrong and hoped for its eradication. Moreover, he was capable of growth beyond most politicians of his time (let alone ours). But, when all is said and done, Lincoln was a lawyer and a conservative Whig. The lawyer in him considered the sanctity of property rights, including the right to slave property, more compelling than the slaves' right to freedom and took a narrow view — at first, anyway — of the federal government's power to interfere with slavery in the states where it was legal. The Whig in him held preservation of the Union higher than any other priority. The conservative in him held racist views that provided a comfortable home for such an ordering of moral priorities. In 1858 he made his racist views clear:

I am not nor ever have been in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races [applause] — that I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people, and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the black and white races which I believe will for ever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race.⁷

Holding such views, Lincoln could sincerely respond in the following blunt language to those who urged him, during the summer of 1862, to proclaim universal emancipation a goal of the war: "If I could save the Union without freeing *any* slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing *all* the slaves, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that."

Lincoln's actions prove that he did not misstate his priorities. During the fall of 1863, a secessionist in southern Maryland murdered a Union officer who had been assigned to recruit Afro-American soldiers. Although, like all line officers of the Union army, he was white (the Louisiana Native Guards briefly included Afro-American line officers, but they were quickly cashiered by the federal government, lest they set an intolerable precedent), his recruiting squad included Afro-American soldiers, whose job was to encourage other Afro-American men, slave and free, to enlist and to offer armed protection to potential recruits. But the citizens (that is to say, the white people) of southern Maryland considered the spectacle of black men in uniform an unbearable affront. Negro soldiers! Heaven preserve us! So they applauded when one of their number murdered the Union officer.

And how did Lincoln react to the killing? Did he say, "Outrageous! Arrest that man! We can't have citizens murdering United States officers for doing their duty"? Nothing of the sort. Instead, he

passed along to the commander in the area the complaints of the slaveholders that Negro soldiers were "frightening quiet people" in the neighborhood. To the commander's reply that the only disorder had been the murder of the Union recruiter, Lincoln telegraphed the following reply: "It seems to me that we could send white men to recruit better than to send negroes, and thus inaugurate homicides on punctilio."⁸

A year and a half later, we find Lincoln pleading on behalf of the murderer's family, left destitute when he fled to the Confederacy and the government confiscated his plantation, as under the law it was amply justified in doing. Although Lincoln conceded minimally that the murderer "had no justification to kill the officer," he insisted that it was the officer's own fault, even though he had been obeying lawful orders when shot.⁹ Lincoln made no pleas, to my knowledge, on behalf of the murdered officer's family. Nor, needless to say, did he make any pleas on behalf of the Afro-American soldiers' families, terrorized by slaveholders in order to frighten their men out of enlisting or in order to retaliate against men who had already done so.

In Kentucky, recruitment of Afro-Americans proceeded according to Lincoln's preferences. Rather than remain to "frighten quiet people," Afro-American soldiers were dispatched from the state as soon as they enlisted and mobile recruiting squads — never mind mobile

Photo by Linda G. Rich. From the Council-sponsored project *Neighborhood: A State of Mind*, 1978 East Baltimore Documentary Photography Project.

recruiting squads including Afro-American soldiers — were strictly banned. As a result, slaves in Kentucky were arrested, maimed, and murdered on their way to distant recruiting stations and families made to pay in blood for their men's audacity.

A few years ago, I was surprised and disappointed to see the spirit of the Civil War moderates approvingly resurrected in a column in *The Washington Post* written by a journalist whose work I generally respect. One columnist wrote as follows:

Lincoln — the shrewd, practical Whig politician — resisted the pressure of the anti-slavery evangelists to his dying day. He went as far into their program as was politically useful . . . but not a step farther. . . . There were many slaveholders in the loyal border states who were strong unionists, far more essential to the Union's survival than easing the conscience of William Lloyd Garrison.¹⁰

Spoken like a true border-state moderate. Reading that passage, you would suppose that the only parties to the dispute were loyal slaveholders and William Lloyd Garrison. What about the slaves and their claim to justice regardless of Garrison's conscience or the desire of loyal slaveholders to hold onto their property? What about "endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights"? What about forming a more perfect union, establishing justice, insuring domestic tranquility, providing for the common



defense, promoting the general welfare, and securing the blessings of liberty?

No doubt most of this audience recognizes "endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights" as one of the most famous lines from the Declaration of Independence, and "form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty" as part of the

preamble to the United States Constitution. In invoking those documents, I was not just a-whistling "Dixie" (or should I say a-whistling the "Battle Hymn of the Republic"). Nor was I making a purely rhetorical point, meanwhile overlooking the obvious fact that, at the time the words were written, not many people other than Afro-Americans themselves assumed that they applied to Afro-Americans. Indeed, it was during that period that race was invented. Seeking to

resolve the contradiction between a natural right to liberty and the enslavement of Afro-Americans, Euro-Americans defined Afro-Americans as a race. (Afro-Americans resolved the contradiction more directly, by calling for the abolition of slavery.)

But I was neither whistling "Dixie" nor playing with words nor overlooking the obvious. Rather, I meant to draw attention to a very down-to-earth reality: that from the time the constitutional convention pieced together the new nation's first compromise on the question of slavery, it became impossible to "form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty." Never mind the slaves; the founders and their successors did not mind the slaves. But what about the country as a whole? Look at what went on: a bloody slave uprising in Virginia; a gag rule in Congress (1835–1844), forbidding members of the House of Representatives to discuss petitions presented for their consideration by their own constituents; mobbings and murders of abolitionists; war with Mexico; repeated threats to break up the union from 1832 on, papered over by repeated compromises that kept coming unglued; pitched battles and ambushes in Kansas; John Brown's raid at Harpers Ferry, Virginia (now West Virginia).

Surely the record makes clear that, even for those who cared nothing for the "devilish Nigger difficulty," slavery was, as the great (but sadly neglected) abolitionist Wendell Phillips put it, a chronic insurrection that had been disturbing the nation's peace for seventy years by the time the Civil War broke out.

Suppose Americans vaunted genius for compromise had failed sooner. Perhaps if the genius for compromise had not worked so well in 1787 or

1820 or 1850, some of the 600,000 lives lost in the Civil War might have been spared. Compromise never ended the disruptive influence of slavery; it only built up pressure leading to ever more explosive disruptions. And by the time the lid blew off, the country had unfortunately made great progress in developing the industrial and technological capacity for mass slaughter.

Lincoln and many others cherished the illusion that the lid might once again be forced down by yet another compromise purchased at the slaves' expense. Three months after issuing his preliminary emancipation proclamation and a few weeks before he issued the final proclamation, Lincoln still hoped that he might avoid the need to tamper with slavery. In a message to Congress, he argued in favor of an unamendable amendment to the Constitution that would have postponed the final end of slavery until the year 1900. Just think of it. Had the compromise succeeded better than any of its predecessors, it would have preserved slavery into the lifetime of Franklin Roosevelt, Charles De Gaulle, Dwight Eisenhower, Jawaharlal Nehru, Nikita Khrushchev, A. Philip Randolph, and my own grandparents. Along the way, it might have resulted in the scattering of Afro-American families to Cuba, Brazil, and other outposts where slavery persisted, just as an attempt at gradual emancipation in Missouri inspired slaveholders there to send thousands of slaves to Kentucky, where slavery remained unthreatened. A compromise preserving American slaveholders, the most powerful slaveholding class of the hemisphere, might even have allowed the slaveholders of Cuba and Brazil to hang on longer than they did.

And had Lincoln's compromise then broken down, like every one of its predecessors, the eventual war might

have been enhanced by such technological "improvements" as modern high explosives, automatic weapons, the gasoline-powered internal combustion engine, and even aircraft. Imagine Antietam with tanks, Gettysburg with machine guns, Vicksburg with dynamite, or Petersburg with airplanes. When you think about it that way, the genius for compromise starts to look more like stupidity.

The truth is, Lincoln was pipe-dreaming to imagine a compromise that could preserve slavery once secession was a fact and the war was underway. When the federal union was breached, with its delicately worded and euphemistically phrased Constitutional safeguards for the rights of slaveholders, slavery was doomed, and so was a union living in perpetual compromise with slavery. "The Constitution of the United States is your only legal title to slavery." So General William T. Sherman, who certainly never cared about the freedom of Afro-Americans, advised a West Point classmate who had become a Confederate officer and who sought the return of runaway slaves within Sherman's lines. Wendell Phillips reminded secessionists that "the moment you tread outside of the Constitution, the black man is not three fifths of a man, he is a whole one." Brigadier General Daniel Ullmann, commander of a Union brigade of Afro-American soldiers, put the matter in a form guaranteed to irritate and provoke the South Carolina slaveholders who had launched the war by attacking Fort Sumter: "The first gun that was fired at Fort Sumter sounded the death-knell of slavery. They who fired it were the greatest practical abolitionists this nation has produced." Maybe General Ullmann was trying to get the goat of Edmund Ruffin, the veteran secessionist from Virginia who claimed for himself the symbolic honor of firing the first shot at Fort Sumter. (Ruffin killed himself

after the Confederates' surrender, pronouncing anathema against what he called the "Yankee race"). For their part, conservative slaveholders had foreseen the danger beforehand and warned their fellow slaveholders that secession would unleash a revolution that would end by destroying slavery.

However clear or inevitable a lesson may seem, however, human beings and human actions are usually required to teach it. And important lessons seldom come easy or cheap. Only gradually and at great cost did the nation at large learn that, under the circumstances of war, the slaves could not longer be regarded as property to be haggled over or offered as payment for the compromises of others. They were people: people whose will and intentions were as much a fact of the war as terrain, supplies, and the position of the enemy; people whose point of view must therefore be taken into account. The task of teaching that lesson fell to the slaves themselves. Their stubborn actions in pursuit of their faith gradually turned faith into reality. It was they who taught the nation that it must place the abolition of slavery at the head of its agenda.

Officers and men of the armed forces were the slaves' first pupils, because the slaves got hold of them first. The deceptively simple beginning of that process occurred when slaves ran away to seek sanctuary and freedom behind federal lines, something they began doing as soon as federal lines came within reach. And, unfortunately for Lincoln's plan to separate the question of Union from the question of slavery, federal lines first came within the slaves' reach in the border slave states that Lincoln was determined to keep in the Union at all costs. Slaves from loyal Maryland as well as rebellious Virginia fled to the federal army during the Battle of Bull Run, the first engagement of

the war. While unionists and secessionists fought openly for control in Missouri, slaves escaping from owners of both types made their way to federal positions. In Kentucky, whose attempted neutrality both armies promptly challenged, slaves escaping from soldiers of the invading Confederate army joined slaves escaping from local owners in seeking refuge with federal troops.

Once the slaves arrived, something had to be done about them. Deciding just what proved a ticklish matter, since every possible course — taking them in, sending them away, returning them to their owners, or looking the other way — threatened to offend some group whose good will the administration needed. Sheltering the fugitives would antagonize the loyal slaveholders whose support underpinned Lincoln's strategy for holding the border slave states in the Union and perhaps wooing back to the Union some slaveholders within the Confederacy itself. But handing fugitives over to their pursuers would infuriate abolitionists. Soldiers of abolitionist or free-soil leaning resisted on principle orders to return fugitives; and even soldiers who held no strong convictions one way or the other resented being ordered to perform a menial chore — slave-catching — on the say-so of arrogant masters and mistresses whom they suspected of feigning loyalty while in truth supporting the rebellion. Looking the other way and doing nothing could not resolve the problem either: each side would interpret any such attempt as a maneuver to help the other. Moreover, purely military considerations suggested that some slaves ought not to be returned to their owners: those assigned to work for the Confederate army and those who offered valuable intelligence or served as pilots and guides for federal forces.

Lincoln did his best to evade the whole question, ordering his commanders not to allow fugitives within the lines in the first place. But orders could not stop the slaves from seeking refuge with Union forces; nor could orders prevent Union forces from granting refuge — whether they did so out of altruistic sympathy with the fugitives' desire for freedom, pragmatic pursuit of military advantage, or a selfish desire to obtain willing servants. Whatever action military officials then took committed the government, visibly, to a definite policy concerning slaves and their owners. However politicians might strive to separate the war from the question of slavery, military men learned at first hand that the two were inseparably linked.

Those who can interfere with an army fighting for the life of a civilian government have the ear of the civilians manning that government, however hard of hearing they may be. Thus did the slaves set in motion a political process that politicians, whether they wished to or not, were required to deal with politically.

The slaves had no interest in another compromise at their expense. Without political rights or political standing, they nevertheless broadcast to Washington their will to be free. Eventually, the lesson soldiers learned in the field must impress itself as well upon politicians. Aggrieved slaveholders took their complaints to the press, to local officials, to their congressional delegations, to the War Department, or to Lincoln himself. Aggrieved soldiers and abolitionists did the same. Somewhere within the political system, someone would sooner or later have to act. Lincoln's first secretary of war, Simon Cameron, acted too forthrightly. His public proposal that the Union free the slaves of rebels and enlist slave men as soldiers ensured his ouster from



A parade was the focus of attention for these Clay Street residents on a sunny summer day in 1948. Photo by Marion Warren. From the Council-sponsored project, The Annapolis I Remember.

the cabinet. Cameron's successor, Edwin M. Stanton, knew better than to run his head into a hornet's nest. He carefully refrained from general pronouncements and, in answering inquiries from commanders in the field about how to deal with fugitives, perfected the art of the reply that contained no answer. Left without political guidance, some commanders fretted and floundered. Others took initiatives that enveloped the government in public controversy and turned the heat back onto the political officials who had hoped to escape it.

Twice Lincoln's commanders embarrassed him publicly by moving ahead of him on the question of emancipation. In August 1861

General John C. Fremont proclaimed martial law in Missouri and declared free all slaves of secessionist owners. Fremont refused Lincoln's order that he amend the proclamation. Accordingly, Lincoln amended it himself and, after a decent interval, relieved Fremont of command and appointed General David Hunter to replace him. Fremont's proclamation enraged unionist slaveholders but stirred the enthusiasm of abolitionists: audiences on the lecture circuit interrupted Wendell Phillips with wild applause and would not permit him to continue, once he mentioned the magic name of Fremont. In May 1862, General Hunter himself, by then transferred to command of the Department of the South (which

included South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida), put Lincoln on the spot once more — and for higher stakes — by declaring slavery abolished throughout his department. This time the slaves at issue belonged, not to loyal owners in loyal states, but to unquestionably rebellious owners in the Confederacy itself. Upon Lincoln fell the onus — the disgrace, many believed — of abolishing Hunter's abolition, as he had abolished Fremont's.

For reasons that make sense once you think about it, Congress was well ahead of the president in getting the message that the war could have no goal short of universal emancipation. In July 1861, responding to the many complaints it had received, the House of Representatives resolved that it was "no part of the duty of the soldiers of the United States to capture and return fugitive slaves." In August, Congress passed an act confiscating slaves whose owners had knowingly required or permitted them to labor on behalf of the rebellion. The language of the act left unsettled whether or not such slaves became free; the flamboyant Union general Benjamin F. Butler popularized the term "contraband" to cover the uncertainty, and eventually "contraband" came to apply to virtually any slave encountered by Union forces. But for all its equivocation, the first confiscation act opened a door through which slaves fleeing military labor with the Confederate army could take the first step toward freedom, and it established a precedent for less equivocal actions to follow.

Before long, Congress proceeded from cautious first steps to much bolder ones. In March 1862, it adopted a new article of war that forbade military personnel — upon pain of court martial — to return fugitive slaves to their owners. Shortly after adopting the new article of war, Congress abolished slavery in the District of Columbia. In July 1862, over Lincoln's objections, Congress passed a second confiscation act that did what Fremont had tried to do in Missouri: it declared free all slaves whose owners supported the rebellion and forbade military personnel to judge the validity of owners' claims to alleged fugitive slaves. In the same month, Congress authorized the enlistment of "persons of African descent" into military service. Above all else, it was military recruitment that doomed slavery in the loyal slave states. So far ahead of Lincoln had Congress traveled on the road to emancipation that, at the moment of its issuance, the final Emancipation Proclamation freed not a single slave who was not already entitled to freedom by act of Congress.

For some people, it goes without saying that war is the greatest of all evils. But that is a matter of faith, rather than argument or evidence. And it very soon leads to treacherous moral ground. To assert or imply, for example, that war is a greater evil than injustice requires attaching a higher importance to the suffering of those victimized by war than of those victimized by injustice, supposing the two to be different — as, in the case of slavery and the Civil War, they were. And even if one agrees with the dubious proposition that peace, however unjust, is always preferable to war, there remains the question of exactly what constitutes peace. It was enslavement, not war, that breached the peace for the slaves.

In the end, it is not the strife of brother against brother that makes the Civil War a tragedy. It is the fact that, regardless of destruction and loss, it had to be fought. Its consequences were terrible. But the consequences of compromise would have been unimaginably worse.

Dr. Fields is a professor of history at Columbia University, specializing in the history of the American South. She earned her bachelor's degree from Harvard University and her M. Phil. and PhD from Yale University. Before joining the faculty at Columbia University she taught at the University of Michigan. Her publications include Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century, and she co-authored The Destruction of Slavery; Slaves No More: Three Essays on Emancipation and the Civil War, and Free at Last: A Documentary History of Slavery, Emancipation, and the Civil War. She is currently at work on a book tentatively entitled Humane Letters: Writing in English About Human Affairs.

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NOTES:

1. Barbara J. Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985), p. 144.

2. Brig. Genl. [Jeremiah T.] Boyle to Hon. E. M. Stanton, January 7, 1863, in Ira Berlin, Barbara J. Fields, Thavolia Glymph, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland, *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861–1867, ser. 1, vol. 1, The Destruction of Slavery* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 563–64.

3. Tho. H. Hicks to Hon. S. Cameron, November 18, 1861, quoted in Berlin, et al., *Destruction of Slavery*, doc. 120, p. 353.

4. Thos. E. Bramiette to His Excellency A. Lincoln, September 3, 1864, in *ibid.*, p. 606.

5. Col. M. Mundy to Capt. A. C. Semple, April 4, 1863, in *ibid.*, pp. 570–71.

6. Quoted in Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, p. 101.

7. Quoted in C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 3rd revised edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 21.

8. Ira Berlin, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland, eds., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861–1867, ser. 2, The Black Military Experience* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 215n.

9. Roy P. Basler, ed., *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 7:255. In the same letter in which Lincoln pleaded the case of the Maryland murderer, he pleaded that of a government employee in Cairo, Illinois, who had kidnapped a fugitive slave working in Cairo and returned him to his "loyal" master in Kentucky. On that matter, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton corrected his chief.

10. Edwin M. Yoder Jr., "'Unconditional Surrender'—An Extravagant Demand," *The Washington Post*, January 26, 1991, A21.

Humanities in the Nation

Recent NEH Grants

The following Maryland institutions and individuals have recently received grants from the Division of Research and Education, National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, DC.

Anne Arundel County Public Schools, up to \$170,000 in outright funds plus an offer of up to \$5,000 in matching funds to support a two-year project for Maryland teachers of American history to develop effective classroom teaching strategies using digitized resources from the Maryland State Archives (J. F. Adomanis, Project Director).

Didier J. Course, up to \$4,000 in outright funds for *Of Gold and Precious Stones: Representations of Power in Early Modern France*.

Barry A. Crouch, up to \$30,000 in outright funds for *Reconstruction in Texas, 1865–1874*.

Keith L. Gandall, up to \$4,000 in outright funds for *Literary Creativity in Stephen Crane, Henry Miller, and Zora Neale Hurston: A Critique of Michel Foucault*.

Janet A. Hutchison, up to \$30,000 in outright funds for *Better Homes in America: Culture and Policy in Historical Perspective, 1922–1942*.

Johns Hopkins University, up to \$24,972 in outright funds to support a project to bring five Maryland institutions of higher education together to create a digitized resource kit for teaching urban life and history for various courses, teaching approaches and technology capabilities (Robert H. Kargon, Project Director).

Sally M. Promey, up to \$30,000 in outright funds for *Painting Religion in Public: John Singer Sargent's "Triumph of Religion" at the Boston Public Library*.

Heather K. Thomas, up to \$4,000 in outright funds for *Reporting Reconstruction: Women Writers on the New South, 1865–1900*.

University of Maryland College Park, up to \$57,000 in outright funds plus an offer of up to \$50,000 in matching funds to support the continuing preparation of an edition of the papers of Samuel Gompers (1850–1924), the first president of the American Federation of Labor (Peter J. Albert, Project Director).

University of Maryland College Park, up to \$158,413 in outright funds to support the preservation micro-filming of 100,000 pages of correspondence, manuscripts, photos, and clippings of the American literary figure, Katherine Anne Porter (1890–1980) (Ruth M. Alvarez, Project Director).

University of Maryland College Park, up to \$254,195 in outright funds to support the preparation of 16 volumes, documenting Eastern and Central Europe, which will form part of a bibliographic series on nineteenth century music and musical life in Europe and the Americans (H. R. Cohen, Project Director).

University of Maryland College Park, up to \$118,000 in outright funds to support the continuing preparation of a documentary history of the transition from slavery to freedom in the American south, 1861–67 (Leslie S. Rowland, Project Director).



Photo by Elinor Cahn. From the Council-sponsored project, *Neighborhood: A State of Mind, 1978 East Baltimore Documentary Photography Project*.

Humanities in Maryland

From the Resource Center

The following videotapes may be borrowed from the Maryland Humanities Council's Resource Center. For further information call Polly Weber at 410-625-4830.

On Board the *Morgan*: America's Last Wooden Whaler

This film logs the history of the *Charles W. Morgan*, a ship which hunted whales for their oil over a hundred and fifty years ago.

The Electric Valley

This documentary sets forth the history of the Tennessee Valley Authority, a federal agency with a broad mission — to tame the forces of nature, create energy, and produce lasting prosperity in the Tennessee Valley.

The Color of Honor

Japanese-American experiences during World War II are examined in this documentary which looks at the internment of American citizens of Japanese ancestry, the distinguished record of Japanese-American combat soldiers in the liberation of France and Italy, and the role that 6,000 Japanese-Americans played in the Asian-Pacific theater as part of the U.S. Military Intelligence Service.

George Marshall and the American Century

General George C. Marshall, a U.S. Army chief of staff, is the subject of this film. Marshall led the Allied victory in World War II and as secretary of state helped create the Marshall Plan.

The African American Experience in Maryland

Keynote speakers, workshops, and musical entertainment are featured in these videotapes from *The African American Experience in Maryland* conference series.

Money Available

Nonprofit organizations and community groups are eligible to apply for grants from the Maryland Humanities Council. Staff members will help you plan programs and work on grant applications. We recently revised our application guidelines; to receive a copy please call or write the Council (address and phone number on back cover), or retrieve them from the Council's homepage at <http://gcnet.net/mhc>.

There are two kinds of grants. Minigrants (requests of \$1,200 or less) should be submitted at least six weeks before your project begins; there are no set deadlines for minigrants. Regular grants (\$1,201 to \$5,000) should be submitted by the following deadlines:

First Draft	Final Draft	Decision Date
June 16, 1997	July 31, 1997	September 20, 1997

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Maryland Bookshelf

Art and Photography

A Maryland Album: Quiltmaking Traditions, 1634–1934, Gloria Seaman Allen and Nancy Gibson Tuckhorn

Going for Baroque, edited by Lisa G. Corrin and Joaneath Spicer

Black Basalt, From Wedgwood and Its Competitors, Diane Edwards

Maryland's Great Outdoors, Middleton Evans

Johns Lichtenstein Rauschenberg Kelly Stella: Masterworks in the Robert and Jane Meyerhoff Collection, Robert Saltonstall Mattison

Pandora: Women in Classical Greece, Ellen D. Reeder

Computers

From Paper to Online Publishing, Larry Bielawski

Beyond Programming, Bruce I. Blum

Online Journalist, Elliott King

Critical Studies

Camp Grounds: Style and Homosexuality, David Bergman, editor

Hollywood High Noon: Moviemaking and Society Before Television, Thomas Cripps

Nicholas Poussin: Friendship and the Love of Painting, Charles Dempsey and Elizabeth Cropper

Adventures in Speech: Rhetoric and Narration in Boccaccio's Decameron, Piermassino Forni

Violent Screen: A Critic's 13 Years on the Front Lines of Movie Mayhem, Stephen Hunter

From Baltimore to Baker Street: 13 Sherlockian Studies, William Hyder

With Pen and Voice: A Critical Anthology of Nineteenth-Century African-American Women, Shirley Wilson Logan

Our America: Nativism, Modernism and Pluralism, Walter Been Michaels

The Crisis of Judgment in Kant's Three Critiques, Irmgard Scherer

Schelling and the End of Idealism, Dale E. Snow

Education

Toward a Rebirth of Common Sense in Education, Thomas J. Brown

Learning Enrichments: A Parent's and Teacher's Handbook for Grades 4–8, Henry Littlejohn

The Transition Guide for College Juniors and Seniors, Carol Weinberg

Food

Skinny Italian Cooking, Nancy Baggett and Ruth Glick

Basil: An Herb Lover's Guide, Susan Belsinger and Thomas DeBaggio

The Onion Book, Susan Belsinger and Carolyn Dille

Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom: Excursions into Eating, Culture and the Past, Sidney Mintz

Dinner for Eight: Healthy Cooking for the Kosher Gourmet, Jeanne N. Weisgal

Guidebooks

An Amateur's Guide to the Planet, Jeanette Belliveau

Inns and Colonial Homes of Maryland, Donna Day

Hiking, Cycling and Canoeing in Maryland: A Family Guide, Bryan MacKay

Historic and Architectural Guide to the Rockville Pike — Indian Path to the Golden Mile, Eileen McGuckian

A Guide to the National Road, Karl Raitz

Walking in Baltimore, Frank R. Shivers, Jr.

Lest We Forget: A Guide to Civil War Monuments in Maryland, Susan Cooke Soderberg

Health and Medicine

Fitness Aerobics, Lynne Brick

Innovating for Health: The Story of Baxter International, Thomas G. Cody

When a Child Has Died: Ways You Can Help a Bereaved Parent, Bonnie Hunt Conrad

After the Death of a Child: Living With Loss Through the Years, Ann K. Finkbeiner

Memory: Remembering and Forgetting in Everyday Life, Barry Gordon

Information Management in Nursing and Health Care, Barbara R. Heller, Mary Etta C. Mills, and Carol A. Romano

An Unquiet Mind: A Memoir of Moods and Madness, Kay Redfield Jamison

Bodyrhythms: Chronobiology and Peak Performance, Lynn Lamberg

Johns Hopkins Guide to Symptoms and Remedies, Simeon Margolis, M.D., editor

Community Health Nursing: Theory and Practice, Fran A. Maurer and Claudia M. Smith and

The Adam Principle: Genes, Genitals, Hormones and Gender, John W. Money

Severe Burns, Andrew M. Munster

Gifted Hands, Benjamin Carson with Cecil Murphey

When Snow Turns to Rain: One Family's Struggle to Solve the Riddle of Autism, Craig Schulze

The Prostate: A Guide for Men and the Women Who Love Them, Patrick C. Walsh, M.D. and Janet Farrar Worthington

Search for Your Roots

On Sunday, June 22, 1997 the Maryland Humanities Council will sponsor *Search For Your Roots*, a workshop focusing on African-American genealogy at the Columbia Festival for the Arts. The workshop, conducted by Sylvia Cook Martin, will be presented at noon and 3 p.m. and will focus on techniques and resources for researching family history. For more information, contact Judy Dobbs at 410-625-4830.



The Maryland Humanities Council is pleased once again to join with the Baltimore Festival of the Arts in presenting a celebration of the Literary Arts at ARTSCAPE '97. This year's Literary Arts line-up includes:

Saturday, July 26

- 1:00 PM Readings by ARTSCAPE '97 Literary Arts Awards nominees
- 2:30 PM Panel discussion with local publishers
- 4:00 PM Readings by ARTSCAPE '97 Literary Arts Awards nominees
- 5:30 PM Gregory Kane, *Baltimore Sun*, reads and talks about his series on *Slavery in the Sudan*.

Sunday, July 27

- 1:00 PM Readings by ARTSCAPE '97 Literary Arts Awards nominees
- 2:30 PM Poetry workshop for teens (ages 13-19)
- 4:00 PM Readings by ARTSCAPE '97 Literary Arts Awards nominees
- 5:30 PM David Simon and Ed Burns, read and talk about their book, *The Corner*
- 7:30 PM Poetry Slam

For further information, call Baltimore's Festival of the Arts, Inc. at 410-396-4575.



The second annual Baltimore Book Festival takes place on September 27 – 28, 1997 at Mount Vernon Place. The Maryland Humanities Council is pleased once again to join with the Baltimore Office of Promotion in bringing this outstanding literary event to Marylanders. The event runs on Saturday from 10 a.m. – 8 p.m. and on Sunday from 12 – 6 p.m., rain or shine. All activities are free. The outdoor festival features author readings, booksellers, cooking demonstrations, children's activities, book signings, poetry, storytelling, Internet exhibits, food and drink, live entertainment, and more.

Interested participants, vendors, and volunteers should contact Kathy Hornig at the Baltimore Office of Promotion, 410-757-8632. The festival is also soliciting proposals from writers, artists, poets, musicians and others from unique projects inspired by books, reading, literature and/or the written word — the sky's the limit! Those chosen will receive an honorarium and the opportunity to present their work at the Baltimore Book Festival. For more information, check out the homepage at <http://www.bop.org/bookfest>.

Free Reading/Discussion Programs

This grant-free, community-based program encourages Marylanders to join together in local libraries and senior centers to read and discuss books focusing on themes such as *Voices and Visions* (American poetry), *Families*, and *Democracy in America*. A scholar selected by the Council will present background information on the authors and their works and lead a discussion about issues raised in reading. The Council will pay the discussion leader's honorarium and travel expenses and supply the books and tapes to be discussed. The local library or community center is responsible for organizing and publicizing the program and will be responsible for returning the books to the Council so that others may use them. For further information, contact Margitta Golladay at 410-625-4830.

Chautauqua '97



The Maryland Humanities Council in association with Garrett Community College presents *Chautauqua '97 — Literary Maryland*. This season five famous Maryland authors return to life through the magic of a unique living history program. The *Literary Maryland* troupe features Doug Boulter as Edgar Allan Poe, John Dausch as H. L. Mencken, Michael McCarthy as F. Scott Fitzgerald, Phyllis McEwen as Zora Neale Hurston, and Lynn Miller as Gertrude Stein.

For further information regarding *Chautauqua '97 — Literary Maryland* contact Donna Byers, Chautauqua coordinator, at 410-625-4830 or Terry Norris, local coordinator, at 301-387-3043.

Literary Maryland

CHAUTAUQUA SCHEDULE

Wednesday, July 2, 1997

- 2 PM Workshop: *Storytelling and Its Connections to Ancestry and Community* with Phyllis McEwen
Ruth Enlow Library, 106 South North Street, Accident

Thursday, July 3, 1997

- 10 AM Workshop: *Poe's Other Poems* with Doug Boulter
Art Gallery, Garrett Community College, 687 Mosser Road, McHenry
- 11 AM Workshop: *Gertrude Stein's Salon* with Lynn Miller
Grantsville Senior Center, 125 Durst Court, Grantsville
- 2 PM Workshop: *A Few Moments with Mr. Mencken* with John Dausch
Ruth Enlow Library, 315 Chestnut Street, Friendsville
- 7 PM Tent Performance at Garrett Community College, 687 Mosser Road, McHenry
Special musical guests Garrett Highland Pipes and Drums
Host — H. L. Mencken Speakers — F. Scott Fitzgerald and Zora Neale Hurston

Saturday, July 5, 1997

- 10 AM Workshop: *Inside the Mind of F. Scott Fitzgerald* with Michael McCarthy
Studio Theater, Frostburg State University, Frostburg
- 7 PM Tent Performance at Garrett Community College, 687 Mosser Road, McHenry
Special musical guests Marsh Mountain Consort
Host — H. L. Mencken Speakers — Gertrude Stein and Edgar Allan Poe

Calendar of Humanities Events

The following programs are receiving funds from the Maryland Humanities Council. Council grants are made possible through major support from the National Endowment for the Humanities, Maryland's Division of Historical and Cultural Programs, corporations, foundations, and individuals. Since dates and times are subject to change, we recommend you contact the project director before attending any event.

Exhibits

Too Jewish?: Challenging Traditional Identities

Programs accompany a collaborative exhibit by the Jewish Museum of Maryland and The Contemporary teaching visitors new skills for understanding contemporary art and encouraging dialogue about ethnic stereotyping and internalized prejudice.

Through
June 29

Location: Exhibit — Garrison Forest Plaza,
Owings Mills

June 3
7:00 PM

Location: Program — Garrison Forest Plaza,
Owings Mills

Contact: Barry Kessler, 410-732-6400

Sponsor: Jewish Museum of Maryland

In Search of Equality: Maryland and the Civil Rights Movement, 1940-1970

Through
July 31

Exhibition catalog provides listing of exhibit items, photographs, an overview of the Civil Rights Movement, and a chronology of significant events in the movement.

Location: Exhibit — Coppin State College,
Parlett J. Moore Library, 2nd floor,
Baltimore

Contact: Cynthia Neverdon-Morton,
410-383-5638

Sponsor: Coppin State College

Montgomery County's Pre-History, Native Americans & Archaeology

Through
November 30

Exhibit focuses on Montgomery County's earliest history, the period of Native American population before European settlement in the 17th century.

Location: Beall-Dawson House Museum of
the Montgomery County
Historical Society, Rockville

Contact: Mary Kay Harper, 301-340-2825

Sponsor: Montgomery County Historical
Society

Images and Voices of Greenbelt

Through
December 31

Exhibit examines Greenbelt, one of three planned communities built by the federal government in the 1930s as a social experiment.

Location: The Gallery, Greenbelt
Community Center

Contact: Sandra Lange, 301-883-5542

Sponsor: Friends of the Greenbelt Museum

Footsteps From North Brentwood

June 1 – Exhibit reconstructs the history of North
January 1, 1998 Brentwood, the first African-American
community to be incorporated in Prince
George's County.

Location: St. James Hall, Maryland House of
Delegates, Annapolis

Contact: Ruth Wilson, 202-529-8693

Sponsor: North Brentwood Historical
Society

Baltimore Through My Eyes

Program celebrates the 200th anniversary of
Baltimore City's incorporation through the
development of four living history
characters representing the experiences of a
woman, an African American, an immigrant
from Eastern Europe, and a person involved
in maritime history.

June 7 & 8,
July 5 & 6,
August 2 & 3
1 – 4 PM

Location: Heritage Gallery, Maryland
Historical Society, Baltimore

June 18,
July 16,
August 20
11 AM – 2 PM

Location: Heritage Gallery, Maryland
Historical Society, Baltimore

Contact: Janet Surrent, 410-685-3750 (x337)
Sponsor: Maryland Historical Society

Programs

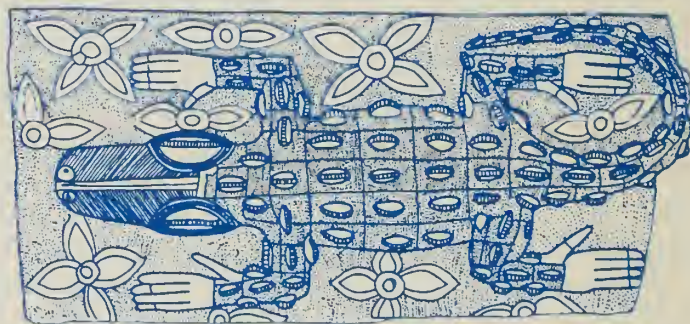
Project '97 — A High School Residency; Saetas del Alma; and *The Writing Life*

June, July, Six tapings of the cable television show *The*
August *Writing Life* featuring interviews with well-
known writers air on Howard County 8
during the summer.

Location: Howard, Carroll, Baltimore, and
Prince George's Counties;
Baltimore City

Contact: Ellen Conroy Kennedy,
410-730-7524

Sponsor: Howard County Poetry and
Literature Society



Arnold, Maryland — Our Hometown

June 11 Webpage prepared by sixth- and seventh-grade students at Magothy River Middle School presents the history of Arnold, Maryland.

Location: Magothy River Middle School, Arnold

Contact: Diane Bragdon, 410-544-0926

Sponsor: Magothy River Middle School Enrichment Program

Baltimore Bicentennial Play for Children

Play created to educate children about Baltimore City's heritage, people.

June 14 **Location:** Morton K. Blaustein Exhibition
1 & 3 PM Center, 4th Floor, City Life
Museums, Baltimore

July 11 **Location:** Maryland Historical Society,
10 & 11:30 AM Baltimore

Contact: Harriet Lynn, 410-323-9402

Sponsor: Pumpkin Theatre of Baltimore, Inc.

Horse-Drawn History: The Connection Between Carriages and Community

Lecture series focuses on the socio-economic environment surrounding the use of horse-drawn vehicles in 19th-century Allegany County.

June 21 **Location:** Allegany County Thrasher
7:00 PM Carriage Museum, Frostburg

June 22 **Location:** Holiday Inn, Cumberland
2:00 PM

July 5 **Location:** Allegany County Thrasher
1:00 PM Carriage Museum, Frostburg

July 6 **Location:** Holiday Inn, Cumberland
2:00 PM

August 9 **Location:** Allegany County Thrasher
7:00 PM Carriage Museum, Frostburg

August 10 **Location:** Holiday Inn, Cumberland
2:00 PM

Contact: Deborah Miller, 301-777-5905

Sponsor: Allegany County Thrasher Museum

**Masterworks of Opera on Video:
Lectures by Distinguished Scholars and
Audience Discussion**

June 29,
July 6, & 13 Music historians will provide historical
background as well as dramatic and musical
analysis in a lecture/discussion series. A
video screening of the works discussed
concludes each program.

1:30 & 5:30 PM Location: Studio Theatre, Towson State
University
Contact: *James Anthony, 410-830-2813*
Sponsor: Maryland Arts Festival, Towson
State University Foundation, Inc.



**I now understood the pathway
from slavery to freedom . . .
I set out . . . at whatever cost
of trouble to learn how to read.**

Frederick Douglass



<http://www.gcnet.net/mhc>

Frederick Douglass is one of six famous Marylanders who can be found at the Maryland Humanities Council's new website located at <http://www.gcnet.net/mhc>. In addition to the wit and wisdom of Maryland notables, you will find a calendar of events, information on free programs offered by the Council, grant information and application forms, and as much mental stimulation as your mouse can handle! Next time you're out surfing the Internet, catch a wave on over to our homepage. And if you'd like to spend a little more time online after that, you might want to check out these websites to learn more about Frederick Douglass:

A timeline of Douglass's life:
www.penguin.com/usa/academic/classics/douglas/time.html

Douglass's autobiography:
www.usc.edu/Library/GovDocs/Etexts/Douglass/

Douglass's famous 4th of July speech:
douglass.speech.nwu.edu/doug_a10.htm

Information on the Frederick Douglass National Historic Site:
www.nps.gov/frdo/freddoug.html

Information on the Anacostia Museum (a former home of Frederick Douglass):
www.si.edu/organiza/musums/anacost/start.htm

Maryland Revisited

If you want a memorable photograph, pick a child as your subject. If you don't believe us, just watch any camera ad that crosses your television screen and count the number of tots used to entice you into purchasing photo equipment and film. As if the countenances of youngsters were not enough to draw your attention, sometimes a shutterbug adds in colorful backdrops or asks the tyke to hold an interesting object. In these vintage shots, the photographers used all three elements when they captured memories of Maryland's rural past.

In the photo at left, an apprehensive young lady holds a blacksnake firmly by the neck. Photo taken in New Market, Frederick County, circa 1900, by Howard Hendford Hopkins; courtesy the Maryland State Archives, Md HR g 1477-5825.

In the photo below, a proud daughter displays jar of beans canned by her mother. Photo taken in St. Mary's County in August 1940 by Jack Delano; courtesy the Library of Congress, FSA collection. From the Council-sponsored project, *Now When I Look Back*.



Maryland's Best Kept Humanities Secrets

African-American Cultural Resources in Maryland

The following listing provides a selection of the many African-American cultural resources found in the State of Maryland. We hope it will serve as a launching point for further explorations into *The African American Experience in Maryland*. Markers and statues can, of course, be visited without any further ado. However, we recommend that you contact the other sites to get more information about what each has to offer, hours for visiting, travel directions, etc.

Churches (Historic)

Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church

1300 Druid Hill Avenue, Baltimore

410-523-4273

First Baptist Church

25 North Caroline Street, Baltimore

410-675-2333

Janes United Methodist Church

Chestertown

410-778-0633

Lafayette Square Church

1121 West Lanvale Street, Baltimore

410-523-1366

Leadenhall Baptist Church

1021 Leadenhall Street, Baltimore

410-539-9334

Orchard Street Church

512 Orchard Street, Baltimore

410-523-8150

Saint Francis Xavier Catholic Church

Caroline and Oliver Streets, Baltimore

410-727-3103

Saint Peter Claver Roman Catholic Church

North Fremont Avenue, Baltimore

410-728-2033

Sharp Street United Methodist Church

1206 Etting Street, Baltimore

410-523-7200

Union Baptist Church

1219 Druid Hill Avenue, Baltimore

410-523-6880

Cultural Centers

Afro-American Heritage Society and Culture Center of Charles County

2540 Old Washington Road, Waldorf

301-843-0371

African American Cultural Center

Towson State University, Towson

410-830-2641

Charles H. Chipman Cultural Center

Broad Street and Route 13, Salisbury

410-860-9290

Howard County Center for African-American Culture

5434 Vantage Point Road, Columbia

410-997-3685

Historic Sites

Antietam National Battlefield

Sharpsburg

301-432-5124

National Colonial Farm/Accokeek Foundation

3400 Bryan Point Road, Accokeek

301-283-2113

Boyd's Negro School House

19510 White Ground Road, Boyds

301-972-0484

Ellicott City Colored School #1 Restoration Project

P.O. Box 2774, Columbia 21044

Historic Annapolis Foundation

18 Pinkney Street, Annapolis

410-267-7619

Historic Saint Mary's City

Off Route 5, Rosecroft Road, St. Mary's City

301-862-0960

Kennedy Farmhouse

Sharpsburg

301-963-3300

Northampton Tobacco Plantation

Near Capitol Center in the Northlake development,
Lake Arbor
301-779-2011

"Riverside"

6005 48th Avenue, Riverdale
301-864-0420

Harriet Tubman Birthplace

Route 397, 8 miles south of Cambridge
410-228-3234

Historical Markers & Statues**Baltimore Tennis Club Marker**

Druid Hill Park adjacent to Conservatory, Baltimore

Benjamin Banneker Marker

Mount Gilboa AME Church, Oella

Black Soldier Statue

Battle Monument Plaza,
Calvert and Lexington Streets, Baltimore

Frederick Douglass Statue

Morgan State University
Coldspring Lane and Hillen Road, Baltimore

Matthew Henson Marker

Maryland State House, Annapolis

Billie Holliday Statue

Pennsylvania Avenue between Lanvale and Lafayette
Streets, Baltimore

Joshua Johnson Marker

Hopkins Plaza
Charles and Baltimore Streets, Baltimore

Kunta Kinte Marker

City Dock, Annapolis

Thurgood Marshall House Marker

1632 Division Street, Baltimore

Thurgood Marshall Statue

Pratt and Sharp Streets, Baltimore

Thurgood Marshall Statue

Lawyers Mall, Annapolis

Historical Societies**Baltimore County Historical Society**

9811 Van Buren Lane, Cockeysville
410-666-1878

Boyd's-Clarksburg Historical Society

19510 White Ground Road, Boyds
301-972-0484

Dorchester County Historical Society

902 LaGrane Avenue, Cambridge
410-228-7953

Highland Beach Historical Commission

Town Hall, 3243 Walnut Drive, Annapolis
410-268-2956

Historical Society of Carroll County

210 East Main Street, Westminster
410-848-6494

Historical Society of Cecil County

135 East Main Street, Elkton
410-398-1790

Historical Society of Harford County

33 West Courtland Street, Bel Air
410-838-7691

Historical Society of Talbot County

25 South Washington Street, Easton
410-822-0773

**Howard County Historical Society,
Museum and Library**

8328 Court Avenue, Ellicott City
410-461-1050

Laurel Historical Society and Museum

Ninth and Main Streets, Laurel
301-776-6933

Maryland Historical Society

201 West Monument Street, Baltimore
410-685-3750

Montgomery County Historical Society

P.O. Box 4182, Rockville 20849
301-762-1492

Prince George's County Historical Society

P.O. Box 14, Riverdale 20737
301-464-0590

Museums**Captain Salem Avery House and Museum**

1418 East-West Shady Side Road, Shady Side 2
410-867-4486

Baltimore Black American Museum

1769 Carswell Street, Baltimore
410-243-9600

Baltimore City Life Museum

800 East Lombard Street, Baltimore
410-396-3523

Baltimore Museum of Art

Art Museum Drive, Baltimore
410-396-6320

**Banneker-Douglass Museum of
Afro-American Life and History**

84 Franklin Street, Annapolis
410-974-2893

Eubie Blake National Museum

34 Market Place, Suite 321, Baltimore
410-625-3113

Calvert Marine Museum

Route 2, Solomons
410-326-2042

Lillie M. Carroll Jackson Museum

1239 Druid Hill Avenue, Baltimore
410-669-7580

Doleman Black Heritage Museum

540 Locust Street, Hagerstown
301-739-8185

Great Blacks in Wax Museum, Inc.

1601 East North Avenue, Baltimore
410-563-3404

Heritage Museum of Art

4509 Prospect Circle, Baltimore
410-664-6711

Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum

1015 Mackall Road, St. Leonard
410-586-0050

James E. Lewis Museum of Art

Morgan State University
Coldspring Lane and Hillen Road, Baltimore
410-319-3020

Maryland Museum of African Art

5430 Vantage Point Road, Columbia
410-730-7105

Point Lookout Civil War Museum

Point Lookout State Park, St. Mary's City
301-872-5688

Sandy Spring Museum

2707 Olney-Sandy Spring Road, Sandy Spring
301-774-0022

Walters Art Gallery

600 North Charles Street, Baltimore
410-547-9000

Other Resources**African American Heritage Project**

Prince George's Community College, Hyattsville
301-336-0464

Afro-American Newspaper

2519 North Charles Street, Baltimore
410-554-8200

Arena Players

801 McCulloh Street, Baltimore
410-728-6500

Baltimore Zoo/African Watering Hole

Druid Hill Park, Baltimore
410-366-5466

Black Classics Press

P.O. Box 13414, Baltimore 21203
410-358-0980

Cab Calloway Jazz Institute

Coppin State College
2500 West North Avenue, Baltimore
410-333-7427

Community Arts Project, Inc./Encore Theatre

4801 Liberty Heights Avenue, Baltimore
410-466-2433

Enoch Pratt Free Library

Afro-American Collection
400 North Cathedral Street, Baltimore
410-625-3113

Josephite Order Archives

Baltimore City
410-727-3386

Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission

Black History Program
4302 Baltimore Avenue, Bladensburg
301-779-2011

NAACP Headquarters

4805 Mt. Hope Drive, Baltimore
410-358-8900

Oblate Sisters of Providence Archives

Baltimore City
410-242-8500

Prince George's County

Genealogical Society
P.O. Box 819, Bowie, 20718-0819
301-262-2063

Princess Anne Academy Archives

University of Maryland Eastern Shore, Princess Anne
410-651-2200

Southern Maryland Studies Center

Charles County Community College, La Plata
301-934-0642

The Stanley Institute

2365 Church Creek Road, Cambridge
410-228-0401

Tower Showcase Theatre

6307 Reisterstown Road, Baltimore
410-358-1131

Harriet Tubman Association in Dorchester

424 Race Street, Cambridge
410-228-0401

Worcester County African American Heritage Committee

10214 Old Ocean City Blvd., Berlin
410-641-1988

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Each item features a caricature of and quote by one of six famous Marylanders (caricatures and quotes shown below).

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T-shirts	100% natural cotton, super heavyweight, preshrunk, sizes M, L, XL, XXL, \$13 each
Coffee mugs	\$8 each, \$35 set of six designs
Posters	Set of all six designs, 11" x 14", \$7 set

Prices include Maryland sales tax, postage and handling. Delivery time is approximately two weeks. You may order by calling the Council at 410-625-4830. Payment can be made by VISA, MasterCard, and American Express or by personal check or money order.

Frederick Douglass:

I now understood the pathway from slavery to freedom . . . I set out . . . at whatever cost of trouble to learn how to read.

F. Scott Fitzgerald:

Baltimore . . . I belong here where everything is civilized and gay and rotted and polite.

Zora Neale Hurston:

I love myself when I am laughing . . . and then again when I am looking mean and impressive.

H. L. Mencken:

Men have a much better time of it than women. For one thing, they marry later. For another thing, they die earlier.

Edgar Allan Poe:

They who dream by day are cognizant of many things which escape those who dream by night.

Gertrude Stein:

Scalpel is a Scalpel . . . In 1901, Johns Hopkins medical student, Gertrude Stein, gave up medicine and turned to the arts and humanities.

Caricatures (left to right): Frederick Douglass, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Zora Neale Hurston, H. L. Mencken, Edgar Allan Poe, and Gertrude Stein



An Interview with Francille Rusan Wilson

By Barbara Wells Sarudy



Francille Rusan Wilson

Dr. Francille Rusan Wilson is assistant professor of Afro-American studies, Afro-American Studies Program, University of Maryland at College Park. She received a BA in political science from Wellesley College, a MAT in social studies from Harvard University, and a MA and PhD in history from the University of Pennsylvania. She is an editorial consultant for Feminist Studies and is the vice chairman of the Maryland Commission on Afro-American History and Culture. She is currently at work on two publications, The Segregated Scholars: Black Social Scientists and the Development of Black Labor Studies, 1890–1950 for the University Press of Virginia and The History of Black Women Workers in the United States for the New York University Press.

How early do you remember being interested in history? What drew you to the field?

As a small girl growing up in St. Louis County, Missouri, I was surrounded by history and politics. There were many small black communities which were settled after the Civil War. Wonderful Rusan family picnics were held at our homeplace, a farm in Franklin County, Missouri, that my great-grandfather had homesteaded in the 1880s. Funerals were the only reason my proud father would drive south to Arkansas where my mother's grandfather had been a successful contractor at the turn of the century. My school was still segregated and unequal in the early 1960s. I lived across the street from a white school and watched the white children carry new books and ride school buses while we read the old books they had discarded and walked miles to the Lincoln School. Our schools eventually were integrated with a lot less drama than my cousins in Little Rock experienced. But now we had books that described slaves in ways that I felt did not represent the whole story. My grandparents and their friends, the children and grandchildren of slaves, told very different stories about slavery. My desire to have all the stories told helped me to decide to become an historian.

Does studying history have an impact on your acceptance of your own mortality?

I've never thought about my relationship with historical study in terms of my mortality, but I have learned that an individual can make a difference and the opportunity to make a difference, however small, is what motivates my scholarship and teaching.

What are the rewards of teaching and studying history? What do you learn from your students?

I love to teach. I learn so much from my students. They give me daily insights into how history has been removed from our popular culture. Teaching African-American studies with students from five continents forces you to rethink everything you thought you knew about race relations, nationally and internationally. Few things are more rewarding than watching students awake to their own potential as thinking beings. Sometimes you literally see the sparks go off in their eyes as they realize that they can analyze situations and not merely memorize data. In Afro-American studies what I call the "eureka factor" still occurs as students discover things about black people which they hadn't known or understood. As rewarding as this job is for me, I worry that young people will not be able to afford the seven

years of graduate education that most historians require to earn a PhD.

What is the Maryland Commission on African-American History and Culture? I understand that you are the vice chairperson.

The commission has nine members who are appointed by the governor and confirmed by the state senate. Its mission is to promote Maryland's black history, culture, and historic preservation, to coordinate the statewide celebration of the Martin Luther King holiday, and to oversee the Banneker-Douglass Museum in Annapolis. Commissioners are

unpaid volunteers who represent the citizens of the state. I try to use my expertise as a professional historian to assist in the development of commission and Banneker-Douglass programs.

Has studying history and the humanities changed your outlook on your everyday life?

Studying history and the humanities has given me a greater appreciation for the complexity and richness of our collective experiences. I am inspired by the numerous instances in which ordinary people have withstood extraordinary odds to

improve the ways we live together. I am sobered by our ability as large groups to tolerate the hatred and oppression of difference. I am humbled by the resilience of the human spirit.

I LOVE MYSELF WHEN I AM LAUGHING ... AND THEN
AGAIN WHEN I AM LOOKING MEAN AND IMPRESSIVE

ZORA NEALE HURSTON, MARYLAND AUTHOR

Join us next time when Maryland Humanities will feature Literary Maryland, with articles on Zora Neale Hurston, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Edgar Allan Poe, Gertrude Stein and H. L. Mencken.





Men have a much better time of it than
women. For one thing, they marry later.
For another thing, they die earlier.

H. L. Mencken

We just wanted to let you know that we are spreading our wings a little. We are giving books to families in urban shelters and housing projects to read and discuss together. And we are flying into cyberspace on the Internet. This is one of the caricatures from our new webpage. There are others. Please come visit us at <http://www.gcnet.net/mhc> and please send along a donation if you can. Thank you.

Maryland

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Literary Maryland

To Our Readers

This year marks the third season for a reborn Chautauqua in western Maryland. At the turn of the century, an annual summer *Mountain Chautauqua* flourished in Garrett County. The Maryland Humanities Council is delighted to continue bringing what Theodore Roosevelt dubbed "the most American thing about America" back to the Free State.

What is a Chautauqua? Taking its name from a lake in New York state, Chautauqua ("shuh-taw-kwa") began in 1874 as a training course for Sunday School teachers. Then in 1878, Chautauqua extended its philosophy of adult education to include an appreciation for the arts and humanities. By 1904, Chautauqua took to the road as a part of the Lyceum movement, bringing lecturers and entertainers to towns across America. By the end of the Roaring Twenties, Chautauquas were a thing of the past. Reborn as a humanities program in 1976, today's Chautauquas feature scholars who take on the persona of celebrated historical figures, educating and entertaining audiences as they bring the past to life again.

The theme for our 1997 Chautauqua was *Literary Maryland* and our tent show featured appearances by Maryland authors H.L. Mencken, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Zora Neale Hurston, and Edgar Allan Poe. For those of you unable to join us for a memorable weekend at Deep Creek Lake, we present this issue of *Maryland Humanities*. We hope you will enjoy our scholars' articles on Fitzgerald, Hurston and Poe. [Mencken was previously featured in the November/December 1994 issue of *Maryland Humanities*, "H.L. Mencken - The Sage of Baltimore."]

The Maryland Humanities Council wants to thank the following individuals for their help in making *Literary Maryland* a reality.

Literary Maryland Troupe

Doug Boulter (Edgar Allan Poe)

John Dausch (H.L. Mencken)

Michael McCarthy (F. Scott Fitzgerald)

Phyllis McEwen (Zora Neale Hurston)

Garrett Community College

Stephen J. Herman, President

Terry Norris, Chautauqua Site Coordinator

Joan Crawford and Fred Stemple, Steering Committee

Maryland Humanities Council

Donna Leigh Barnes, Chautauqua Coordinator

Margitta Golladay and Polly Weber, Chautauqua Staff

We also wish to thank the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Division of Historical and Cultural Programs, Department of Housing and Community Development, State of Maryland for major financial support for this project. Additional support was provided by the Garrett County Arts Council, the Maryland State Arts Council, and Frostburg State University.

Barbara Wells Sarudy
Executive Director

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Art criticism
Comparative religion
Ethics
History
Jurisprudence
Language
Literature
Philosophy
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Maryland

HUMANITIES

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F. Scott Fitzgerald

Prophet of Flaming Youth

By Michael McCarthy

Devastated by the Great War, numbed by death, angry at the past and uncertain of the future, America's war generation entered the 1920s in blinding confusion. To forget it all, it masked itself with a bitter smile and danced the decade away. And, as the generation's voice, so did F. Scott Fitzgerald. In the end, though, the charade worked for neither. The war generation marched straight into the Great Depression and another war. Fitzgerald, the peoples' prophet, marched straight into an early grave. On the other hand, both the generation and the prophet achieved a kind of epic immortality.

Fitzgerald, born in St. Paul, Minnesota in 1896, was the son of an Irish merchant and his wife. His great-grandfather, whose descendants migrated to Catholic Maryland two centuries earlier, was related by marriage to Francis Scott Key, writer of *The Star-Spangled Banner*. His father, Edward, was born on Glenmary Farm near Rockville, Maryland, where he lived prior to his marriage to Molly McQuillan of St. Paul. Fitzgerald's early years were spent in the north — in St. Paul, Syracuse, and Buffalo. To all outward appearances, his life was normal and good. But early on he seemed unnaturally driven by the need to succeed, and by the fear of failure if he did not.

Almost from the start, writing was Fitzgerald's passion. As a young boy and as a young man, whatever the nature of his life at the moment, he found refuge from it in his imagination. In 1909 his first short story, "The Mystery of the Raymond Mortgage," appeared in print, and two years later he staged "The Girl from the Lazy J," his first play. As he wrote, his already minimal interest in academics declined, then disappeared entirely. In essence, by the age of twelve Fitzgerald had chosen his life path. For better or for worse, it was rooted in literature.

In 1913 Fitzgerald went to Princeton, where he both succeeded and failed. He produced plays for the prestigious Triangle Club, but, plagued by falling grades, he ultimately left the university. The experience affected him deeply. His plays "Safety First" and "The Evil Eye" — sophomoric as they were — had made him a local star and blunted his growing self-doubt. But academic decline simply reinforced it all over again. Even at eighteen, life was, as he put it "too strong and remorseless for the sons of men."

When the Great War came in 1917, Fitzgerald was eager to fight. Enlisting in the army, hoping to serve in France, he made it clear that to him combat was atonement for past failures, a last chance to "Make a mark on the world." To his bitter disappointment, the war ended before he could do so. Redemption had to come some other way.

In 1918, posted at Camp Sheridan, Alabama, Fitzgerald met Zelda Sayre at a country club ball. The same year he began work on his first novel, *The Romantic Egoist*. Unable to sell his work, he moved to New York where he found unhappy employment with an advertising agency. His romance with Zelda burned hot, then cold, then died. Their engagement broken, Zelda remained in Montgomery and played the belle of the ball for another season while Fitzgerald lived in New York in emotional depression and growing alcoholism. Unable to sell his literary work and haunted — always — by Zelda, he later wrote, bluntly and sadly, "I was a failure."

Burdened by more debt than he could bear, Fitzgerald returned to St. Paul where he supported himself with a flurry of short stories (now marked with an almost trademark pessimism) for *The Smart Set* and *Saturday Evening Post*. Then, in 1919, *The Romantic Egoist* was suddenly accepted for publication. Its title was changed to *This Side of Paradise*, but its heart remained, and in its success Fitzgerald finally found the chance to be successful himself.

This Side of Paradise was vintage Fitzgerald — a slashing attack on Victorian morality and what he considered to be other oppressive elements of the American social status quo. His characters, largely young and without discernable moral moorings, were all "lost," yearning for things they could not find, seeking a kind of liberation (as was Fitzgerald himself) from things they could not see or even define. Commercially, Fitzgerald's theme was brilliant. A postwar generation, reeling from war, bewildered about its past and confused about its future, easily related to what he wrote. His anti-Victorianism, his focus on chivalric love and the liberation of youth, and his identification of a whole generation as "lost," touched an exposed national nerve. As for Fitzgerald himself, *Paradise* began the transformation of the son of a furniture salesman into a legitimate, if temporary, literary legend.

Most of all, *Paradise* brought Zelda to Fitzgerald. Some said that Zelda Sayre never loved him, that it was only his overnight financial success that attracted her. Whatever the reality of the relationship — and with the two of them myth constantly collided with and obscured reality — the broken engagement of 1919 was resumed early the next year. In April 1920, they were married at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City. Fitzgerald was euphoric.

Settling down in Westport, Connecticut, and then New York City, Fitzgerald was suddenly caught up in a maze of contradiction. First, he found himself living among, and associating with, the very masters of wealth and position that he attacked in his work. Worse, he found the association fundamentally appealing. One observer wrote that, by now, Fitzgerald had developed "an abiding distrust, an animosity, toward the leisure class . . . the smoldering hatred of the peasant." And yet he played and danced and drank with this same leisure class all night. The conflict increasingly surfaced in his work, giving it a hard edge, even a sense of desolation.

Worst of all, even if Fitzgerald could rationalize the good life, he could not afford it. His — and Zelda's — extravagance quickly plunged them into debt. In time, developing a pattern for the rest of his life, he began writing less to satisfy his creative need than simply to pay his bills. Much of what he wrote under these conditions was quick, shallow, and perfunctory.

In 1921 Fitzgerald literally escaped to Europe. While other literary expatriates emigrated there to escape America's postwar political and social decadence and to find new places to inspire their creativity, the Fitzgeralds did so chiefly to cut costs. At least six different times between 1921 and 1931 the couple lived in Europe, usually in or near Paris, and usually for relatively brief periods. Sometimes Fitzgerald associated with the other literary exiles, and sometimes not. Sometimes he was accepted by them as part of their community, and sometimes he was not. At all times, however, one constant existed: He liked the continent little, if at all, and took from it only what was useful to him. On occasion he appreciated a book or a work of art, or (most often) scenery. But at the heart of his



Zelda and F. Scott Fitzgerald attending a performance of Dinner at Eight in Baltimore, 1932. Photo from the collection of the late Arthur Mizener.

relationship with Europe and its people was always a kind of vague, distant contempt, and when he had paid his last visit there, in 1931, he never looked back.

It was Europe, however, where he crafted his second major work, *The Beautiful and Damned* (1921), and his epic, *The Great Gatsby* (1925). Both condemned the idle rich and continued to define the fears of "flaming youth," and made Fitzgerald a star. For a single moment *Gatsby* galvanized a nation. But the moment passed, and when it did, Fitzgerald felt himself to be dated and irrelevant again. This time he was probably right: in retrospect, as an

In a small way, I was an original.

F. Scott Fitzgerald

important American literary force, he reached his pinnacle in 1925.

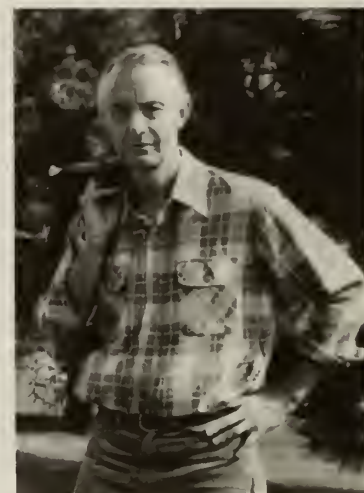
For the rest of the decade Fitzgerald continued his old quest for the identity he never found. Writing mostly in Europe about American themes, he impressed critics again with *All the Sad Young Men* in 1926. Then he largely fell silent. As his self-doubt continued to grow, so did his alcoholism, and though both he and his new friend Ernest Hemingway both “took the cure” at Salies du Beam, it only increased.

In 1930, after a trip to North Africa, Zelda suffered a nervous breakdown in Paris. For the next ten years she moved from clinic to home to clinic, from Geneva to Lausanne to Montgomery to Baltimore, to New York, and, finally, to North Carolina. Her husband followed her everywhere. While trying to deal with her disintegration and his own, Fitzgerald published *Babylon Revisited* (1931) and *Tender Is The Night* (1934). He also began work, appropriately enough, on *The Crack-Up*.

In 1937 Fitzgerald moved to Hollywood for the third and final time. There, as he had done periodically for years, he worked on film screenplays, subordinating his own work to that of others “for the money.” Ironically, even this ultimately failed. In 1938 his contracts were not renewed, and sporadic freelance work in 1939 led only to a heart attack and a seedy apartment on Laurel Street within sight — but not reach — of Hollywood Boulevard. On December 21, 1940, Fitzgerald was killed by a second heart attack. He was forty-four. The next year *The Last Tycoon* was published posthumously, and in 1945, *The Crack-Up*.

Buried in Rockville, Maryland, he was little mourned and quickly forgotten. But there had been a time — whether he knew it or not — when he had been a star. He was the prophet of flaming youth, the teller of its stories; if the time was revolution, he was its scribe. But he was also more. Like a character in his own stories, he was a living part of the mosaic itself. Living extravagantly, spending crazily, sharing the fears and dreams of those around him, then dissolving it all in scotch and gin, Fitzgerald not only wrote about flaming youth, he was flaming youth — and for that he was nearly eternal. Using words like a prism, he held the times up to the light, looked through them,

and described what he saw. In so doing, he left future generations with an indelible sense of his magic. The tragedy was that he had none left over for himself.



Michael McCarthy

Michael McCarthy is a historian with a PhD from the University of Denver. Specializing in twentieth century United States history, he teaches at the University of Colorado (Denver) and the University of South Carolina (Hilton Head). He has authored four books and numerous articles on western political and environmental history.

Timeline: F. Scott Fitzgerald

- 1896 Francis Scott Fitzgerald born on September 24, in St. Paul, Minnesota, to Edward and Mary Fitzgerald.
- 1909 Fitzgerald writes first story, "The Mystery of the Raymond Mortgage."
- 1913 Fitzgerald enters Princeton University, begins writing short stories and plays.
- 1915 Fitzgerald drops out of Princeton.
- 1917 Fitzgerald commissioned as a second lieutenant in the army; begins work on first novel.
- 1918 Fitzgerald meets, and falls in love with, Zelda Sayre in Montgomery, Alabama. He works briefly in New York, then returns to St. Paul.
- 1920 *This Side of Paradise* is published. Fitzgerald marries Zelda Sayre in New York, where they become famous figures. *Flappers and Philosophers*, Fitzgerald's first anthology of short stories, is published.
- 1921 Fitzgeralds live in New York City and St. Paul and make first visit to Europe. The Fitzgeralds' daughter, Scottie (Frances Fitzgerald) is born.
- 1922 *The Beautiful and Damned* is published. *Tales of the Jazz Age*, Fitzgerald's second collection of short stories, is published. After residing on Great Neck, Long Island, the Fitzgeralds return to Europe.
- 1924 Residing in Europe, Fitzgerald writes *The Great Gatsby*.
- 1925 *The Great Gatsby* published; Fitzgeralds live in Paris with Ernest Hemingway and other expatriates during a summer of "1,000 parties and no work."
- 1926 *All The Sad Young Men*, Fitzgerald's third collection of short stories, is published. The Fitzgeralds remain in France through 1929.
- 1930 Zelda has first breakdown and is hospitalized in Switzerland.
- 1931 Fitzgerald goes to Hollywood to write film scripts.
- 1932 Zelda has a second breakdown and is taken to Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore for treatment. Fitzgerald rents "La Paix" in nearby Rodgers Forge and writes.
- 1934 Zelda has third breakdown and is hospitalized again near Baltimore. *Tender Is the Night* is published.
- 1935 *Taps at Reveille*, Fitzgerald's fourth short stories collection, is published.
- 1936 Zelda enters hospital in Asheville, North Carolina. Fitzgerald moves in nearby and spends his time writing.
- 1937 Fitzgerald returns to Hollywood to write screenplays. He meets, and falls in love with, Sheila Graham.
- 1939 Fitzgerald writes short stories for *Esquire* and begins writing *The Last Tycoon*.
- 1940 Fitzgerald dies of a heart attack in Sheila Graham's Hollywood apartment. He is buried in Rockville, Maryland.
- 1941 *The Last Tycoon* is published posthumously.
- 1945 *The Crack-Up*, Fitzgerald's last collection of short stories, is published posthumously.

F. Scott Fitzgerald on the Web

F. Scott Fitzgerald is one of six famous Maryland authors who can be found at the Maryland Humanities Council's homepage located at <http://www.gcnet.net/mhc>. You can also find information on F. Scott Fitzgerald at these web sites:

University of South Carolina F. Scott Fitzgerald Centenary Home Page

<http://www.csd.scarolina.edu/fitzgerald/index.html>

Site includes bibliographies, a chronology, articles, quotations, and writings by Fitzgerald.

Peerless Rockville Home Page

<http://millkern.com/peerless/index.html>

Site includes information on an annual Fitzgerald conference as well as publications related to F. Scott Fitzgerald and his connection with Rockville, MD.



Suggested Readings

Brucoli, Matthew. *Some Sort of Epic Grandeur: The Life of F. Scott Fitzgerald*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1981.

Buttita, Tony. *After the Good, Gay Times: A Season with F. Scott Fitzgerald*. New York: Viking Press, 1974.

Cowle, Robert and Malcolm. *Fitzgerald and the Jazz Age*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1966.

Donaldson, Scott. *Fool for Love: F. Scott Fitzgerald*. New York: Congdon and Weed, 1983.

Mayfield, Sara. *Exiles from Paradise: Zelda and Scott Fitzgerald*. New York: Delacorte Press, 1971.

Mizener, Arthur. *The Far Side of Paradise: A Biography of F. Scott Fitzgerald*. Revised Edition. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965.

Porter, Henry. *F. Scott Fitzgerald: A Critical Portrait*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1965.

Sklar, Robert. *F. Scott Fitzgerald: The Last Tycoon*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1967.

Turnbull, Andrew. *Scott Fitzgerald*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1962.

Zora Neale Hurston

Genius of the South

By Phyllis McEwen

The life of the visionary genius, Zora Neale Hurston, is constantly a source of mystery and speculation. "Zoraphiles" have spent more than a decade attempting to assemble dates, places and details to construct a body of fact that will give a complete, true picture of this writer. And yet, the more we speculate, the more mysterious and incredible she seems to become. Interest in her life and work has blossomed from a few out-of-print titles in large library collections, and short dismissive statements describing her as "a minor figure of the Harlem Renaissance," to recognition of Hurston as one of the most studied and admired writers of the twentieth century.

During her lifetime, she was often harshly criticized or ignored; sometimes labeled eccentric and problematic. Although she was considered a celebrity in her day, there were many times when she was mistreated and badly misunderstood. Today she is considered a woman ahead of her time, a strong proponent of Black cultural nationalism and an inspiration for students of feminist thought, as well as an anthropologist who holds a prominent place in the beginnings of modern cultural anthropology.

Most scholars agree that Hurston was probably born in Macon County, Alabama in 1891. She and her family are reported to have moved to Eatonville, Florida in 1894. It is there that Hurston began the life she presented to the public, naming Eatonville her "native village" and declaring 1901 as the year of her birth. Situated just outside of Orlando, the small, historically all-Black town was incorporated in 1886. The town was described by Hurston as "the city of five lakes, three croquet courts, three hundred brown skins, three hundred good swimmers, plenty guavas, two schools, and no jail-house."

Born into the comfort and beauty of this lush locale, Zora enjoyed the stability of her turn-of-the century family. Although her mother, Lucy Potts (or Lula Potts in some sources), had little education herself, she taught her eight children in regular classes in her home until her limited knowledge was exhausted. She then turned her home school over to Hezekiah Bob, her first-born child. Lucy recognized early on that her second daughter and fifth-born was indeed "special" and gave Zora the benefits of her wisdom and insight, advising her to "jump at de'sun." Lucy Potts was aware that she had a gifted child to raise

and did what she could to keep her daughter's spirit from being "squinched."

Hurston's father, however, was a different story. A biracial man of agrarian origin, John Hurston became the ambitious and stormy minister/entrepreneur/mayor of Eatonville (1912–1916). By her own account, Zora's father found her precocious, free-spirited personality difficult to deal with.

These dual and conflicting parent-child relationships resulted in the force that jettisoned Hurston into her exceptional, creative, independent life. When her mother died in 1904 (a year Zora described as her ninth year, but which was actually closer to her thirteenth), Hurston's life changed forever. She describes her beloved mother's death as a powerful turning point: "That hour began my wanderings. Not so much in geography, but in time. Then not so much in time as in spirit. Mama died at sundown and changed a world. That is, the world which had been built out of her body and her heart."

Following her mother's death and her father's subsequent remarriage, Hurston began a voyage of survival. Around 1915, Hurston went to work for the Gilbert and Sullivan theatrical company and toured the south with them for nearly two years, until she reached Baltimore. Reports indicate that she fell ill there and was unable to continue touring following the removal of her appendix at Maryland General Hospital.

Upon her recuperation, she resumed her formal education by enrolling in the Morgan Academy, the high school division of Morgan State University. Here the "biomythography" of Hurston continues — possessing one dress, one pair of tan oxfords, and a glittering raw intelligence, Zora simply stopped a teacher and asked him to support her schooling.

While studying in night school in Baltimore she met an African American teacher named Dwight O. W. Holmes who inspired her with his love of poetry and his skill at teaching it. Eager to continue her studies, Zora went directly to William Pickens, Dean of Morgan Academy, and told him of her plans and needs. Pickens understood her situation and helped her get through her time at Morgan Academy. Hurston lived with a Rev. Baldwin, a local minister and helped to pay her way by tending to



I love myself when I am laughing . . .

*and then again when I am looking
mean and impressive.*



*Photos courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book and
Manuscript Library, Yale University.*

his bedridden wife. Although Zora had less than most of the other students and had to work hard to keep up a tight schedule, her time in Baltimore was a positive experience because Hurston was doing what she most wanted to do — go to school. Hurston graduated from Morgan Academy in 1918. Years later, in 1939, Hurston was honored by her alma mater when she received an honorary doctor of letters from Morgan State University.

After her high school graduation, she went on to Howard University in Washington, D.C., and then to Barnard College in New York, receiving her bachelor's degree in anthropology in 1928. While at Barnard College, she encountered Franz Boas, often considered the "father" of cultural anthropology. Boas immediately recognized her genius and it was this relationship that helped to facilitate Hurston's career as a folklorist. Hurston remains one of

the most successful recorders and interpreters of southern culture. The literary result of this time is two outstanding books of folklore that stand today as fresh and unique studies of the African Diasporic cultures, *Mules and Men* (1935) and *Tell My Horse* (1938).

Mules and Men includes the results of Hurston's field work in her self-proclaimed native village of Eatonville as well as material gleaned from other areas of the south. Hurston readily admitted that she had to try more than once to collect the "real thing," which she describes as information from the "shyest" folk. Told in a non-linear, Black southern, oral tradition, *Mules and Men* is rich. Hurston weaves an unpredictable, delightful fabric of creation myths, folk rhymes and nature tales employing candid, often humorous portrayals of Eatonville's citizenry, conjure doctors, woodpeckers, gopher turtles, Sis Cat, and Brer Dog.

I want no double standards of measurement. . . . If I am a skunk, I meant to stink up the place. . . . If I am a walking rosebud, I did that too.

Zora Neale Hurston

Hurston's sensitive ability to translate the "Negro" oral tradition to the page is amazing in its accuracy. The humor, the wisdom, the mystery, the pathos and the clear portrayal of surviving Africanisms make the work a unique repository of the culture. And the reader receives bonuses of appendices that include libretto of folk songs collected on site at railroad camps, jook joints, and phosphate mines. Also included are "Formulae of Hoodoo Doctors," "Prescriptions of Root Doctors," and "Paraphernalia Of Conjure." This work exemplifies Hurston's ability to speak in her authentic voice, laced together with the unobtrusive string of her training as a scholar of folklore and anthropology.

Tell My Horse, Hurston's second book of folklore, broadens the diasporic experience to Jamaica and Haiti. With striking plates of photographic imagery of these cultures, she continues the portrayals of Black culture with the same strong connection and storytelling voice. Written in traditional travelogue style, Zora tells it as she finds it — the truth about Zombies, Voodoo religious practices, and the Caribbean color caste systems. The book did not sell very well; it was received with interest and confusion. Most reviewers did not understand its eclectic format, nor did they take kindly to Hurston's conversational style. Despite its early mixed reception, *Tell My Horse* remains a unique treatise on these Afro-centric cultures and their spiritual traditions.

While Hurston fame certainly revolves around her work, she is also considered legendary for all the mystery and brilliant color that surrounds her. Stories abound of her flamboyant lifestyle and unpredictable response to circumstance. Lucy Ann Hurston says of her famous aunt: "Zora was known for her generosity, funny stories, and outrageous actions, as well as her hot temper and strong opinions."

Hurston's lifestyle also carried a high note of sensuality, style, and joie de vivre. She was a woman who was not afraid to live a life of expression at a time when most women, of any race or class, were severely suppressed by the culture of the day. Her charisma could stop a party and pull everyone in the room as she dispensed her stories and anecdotes with animated gestures and accompanying facial expressions for effect.

Zora was known for pushing the boundaries of the rules of the day. When Hurston and her white male friend, Fred Irvine, undertook a cruise to the Bahamas in 1949, she emphatically defended their right to do what they wanted, despite this open affront to racial and social customs of the time. Her spirit of adventure and independence led her to carry a gun, wear pants, and smoke cigarettes in front of white people. She attempted an expedition to discover a "lost city" in Central America, and though the project never quite jelled, she seriously intended to make this dangerous journey.

At one time, Hurston owned a red convertible motor car (*Sassie Susie*), as well as her own houseboat (*Wanago*) and later another (*Sun Tan*). We have glimpses of Hurston out doing field work at dangerous jook joints with "Big Sweet," an acquaintance turned bodyguard who carried a knife and protected Zora when "things got out of hand."

Hurston lived a life of her own design, running against the patterns and constraints of convention, when necessary. She lived the life of an artist and a scholar, a space traditionally reserved for someone white and male. She was not a woman to be "humbled by second place." She was not a woman to be silenced by popular consensus. Nor was she a woman to be defeated by conflict and pain.

Zora treated racism, sexism, and poverty as hurdles to be negotiated with weapons of style, intelligence, focus, and even humor. She handled her literary critics and political detractors with biting, candid responses that cut past the public consciousness and opened the doors to the heart of her true mind, of who she knew she really was, and what her work was destined to be.

Hurston, true to her chosen professions, traveled constantly. There was nearly no part of Florida where she did not leave her magic touch, spending significant time in Eatonville, central Florida, south Florida and at least five years as a resident of Eau Gallie. She settled in Fort Pierce in 1957 where she died of hypertension and congestive heart failure in 1960. But during her life time there are also accounts of her living and working in Honduras, New York, Bahamas, Tennessee, Washington, D.C., Alabama, Louisiana, New Jersey, Jamaica, North Carolina, South Carolina, and of course, Maryland.

What we know of Hurston's life has shifted over the years. As interest grows, more research is funded and forgotten documents are suddenly found. In December 1996, the discovery of a short story, "Under the Bridge"; an essay, "The Ten Commandments of Charm"; and a play, "Spear"; caused great excitement. While two of these pieces had been thought to be lost and the other apparently forgotten, they were suddenly available in the December 1925 edition of *The X-Ray*, an annual publication of Zeta Phi Beta, a women's sorority Hurston joined in 1919.

While the body of available literature continues to grow, some aspects of Hurston's biographical data remain amorphous. As we read the fiction, as well as the autobiography and folklore, we may be tempted to assume that the life of Hurston can be interpolated from the given information. Of course, caution must be taken.

To experience the work of Hurston, whether early or late, is not to experience the work of an underrated, tortured artist. Many have interpreted the collected data of her life in this manner, but it is more likely that the contrary is true. When viewed as enigmatic, and often mysterious, one may gain insight to her intentions and expectations about her life and work. She invites us into the circle of admirers and inquisitors with this clairvoyant, almost casual, yet accurate overview of her life from 1942 onward provided in *Dust Tracks on a Road*:

What all my work shall be, I don't know that either, every hour being a stranger to you until you live it. I want a busy life, a just mind and a timely death.

Today most of Hurston's works can be found in a two volume set published in 1995 by the Library of America. She is the first African American woman to be published in the series, the fourth woman, the fifth Black writer. Hurston's work is being accepted into the American literary canon — a place long dominated by white males and one that she never longed to go. But whether or not it was her intention to be included and accepted by American letters, all can benefit from this new found interest in her work. American literature is privileged to have the products of this visionary "genius of the south."



Phyllis McEwen

Phyllis McEwen is a poet/performance artist who has toured extensively in a one-woman show as Zora Neale Hurston. A graduate of Spelman College (BA) and Atlanta University (MS), McEwen is a former staff member of the Florida Humanities Council. She is a member of the Off Center Artist Collective at the Tampa Bay Performing Arts Center. Author photo by Silvia Curbels.

Timeline: Zora Neale Hurston

- 1891 Zora Neale Hurston born on January 7, in Notasulga, Alabama.
- 1894 Hurston moves to Eatonville, Florida, an all-black town situated five miles north of Orlando, Florida.
- 1904 The author's mother, Lucy (Lula) Potts, dies on September 18. Hurston is sent to school in Jacksonville, Florida.
- 1915 Hurston travels with a Gilbert and Sullivan theatrical troop, working as a maid to one of the singers. She arrives in Baltimore and has appendix removed at Maryland General Hospital.
- 1918 Hurston graduates from Morgan Academy in Baltimore.
- 1921 Hurston's first story, "John Redding Goes to Sea," is published in the *Stylus*, a Howard University student literary magazine.
- 1924 Hurston receives an associate degree from Howard University in Washington, D.C.
- 1925 Hurston enters Barnard College in New York with a scholarship, where she studies anthropology with Franz Boas.
- 1927 Hurston marries Herbert Sheen.
- 1928 Graduating from Barnard College with a B.A. in anthropology, Hurston begins collecting folklore throughout the South.
- 1930 Hurston collaborates with Langston Hughes on the play, *Mule Bone: A Comedy of Negro Life*.
- 1931 Hurston divorces Herbert Sheen.
- 1932 Hurston produces the folk musical, *The Great Day*, in New York City.
- 1934 The novel, *Jonah's Gourd Vine*, is published.
- 1935 The folklore collection, *Mules and Men*, is published.
- 1936 Hurston studies folkways in Jamaica and Haiti.
- 1937 The novel, *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, is published.
- 1938 The folklore collection, *Tell My Horse*, is published.
- 1939 The novel, *Moses, Man of the Mountain*, is published. Hurston receives an honorary doctor of letters degree from Morgan State College in Baltimore. Hurston marries Albert Price III.
- 1942 Hurston's autobiography, *Dust Tracks on a Road*, is published.
- 1943 Hurston divorces Albert Price III.
- 1948 The novel, *Seraph on the Suwanee*, is published. Hurston is arrested in September on a false morals charge.
- 1950–56 Hurston lives and writes in various Florida cities, including Eau Gallie.
- 1957 Hurston moves to Fort Pierce, Florida, to work as a reporter for the *Fort Pierce Chronicle*.
- 1959 Hurston works as a substitute teacher at Lincoln Park Academy in Fort Pierce. She suffers a stroke.
- 1960 Hurston dies on January 28 from hypertensive heart disease and is buried in the Garden of Heavenly Rest in Fort Pierce, Florida.

Zora Neale Hurston on the Web

Zora Neale Hurston is one of six famous Maryland authors who can be found at the Maryland Humanities Council's homepage located at <http://www.gcnet.net/mhc>. You can also find information on Zora Neale Hurston at these web sites:

Zora Neale Hurston

<http://pages.prodigy.com/zora>

Site includes a biography of Hurston, a bibliography, and photos of the author.

The Zora Neale Hurston Society

<http://www.morgan.edu/events/events.htm>

Site includes information on the Zora Neale Hurston Society and its annual conference.



Suggested Readings

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Beginnings and Endings

Edgar Allan Poe and Baltimore

By Doug Boulter

On September 27, 1849, Edgar A. Poe left Richmond, Virginia, en route to New York City. After several bleak years during which he had lost his wife Virginia to tuberculosis and had published little, his life and writing career were again on the upswing. In 1849 he had attained publication of five new short stories and had written the poems "Eldorado" and "Annabel Lee." In Richmond and Norfolk his lectures had been enthusiastically received, and he was hopeful of attaining backing for an independent literary magazine, *The Stylus*, whose publication had been his long-standing ambition. In Richmond, he found his old childhood sweetheart, Elmira Royster Shelton, and proceeded to win her heart again. He planned to return to New York to bring his aunt, Maria Clemm, back to Richmond to live with him and Mrs. Shelton once they were married. On his way he planned only one stop, a visit of approximately three days in Philadelphia where he would edit the poems of a Mrs. Loud. Her husband had promised to pay him \$100 for the work, and Poe, desperately poor as always, could not refuse the opportunity.

On October 3rd, an election was taking place in Baltimore. That day, a printer encountered the famous poet in Gunnar's Hall, a tavern that was being used as a polling place for the Fourth Ward. The printer sent an urgent message to Poe's old friend Joseph Evans Snodgrass, stating that Poe was in great distress and in need of immediate assistance. Snodgrass arrived to find Poe filthy, wearing clothes clearly not his own, and in a drunken stupor. At that point, several of Poe's Baltimore relatives arrived, and it was agreed that he would be best off in a hospital. They took him directly to Baltimore's Washington College Hospital, by which time he had lapsed into unconsciousness. He remained unconscious or delirious for most of the next four days. On the night of Saturday, October 6th, Poe was in a violent delirium, calling out the name "Reynolds." At about three o'clock on Sunday morning, he became quiet and seemed to rest. Murmuring "Lord help my poor Soul," he died. He was buried the next day in a small Presbyterian cemetery on the corner of Fayette and Greene Streets.

Baltimore is well known as the place of Poe's death, but his connection with the city goes far beyond its role as the site of his final resting place. During his life, he lived primarily in Richmond, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. His attachment to Baltimore was strengthened by relatives, whom he mostly avoided, and literary friends with whom he stayed in contact throughout his life. He found a home for some of his writing in Baltimore publications. And finally, he was to use some of the things he had experienced in Baltimore in his famous "tales."

Edgar Poe was born the second son of the traveling actors Elizabeth Arnold and David Poe, Jr. The writer's father was the son of David Poe, Sr. a Baltimore gentleman who had held the rank of major during the American Revolution, serving as one of the Continental Army's assistant quartermasters. In time of need and no funds from the Continental Congress, Major Poe expended his own fortune to provide supplies for the soldiers. The respect he thus earned from the citizens of Baltimore was so great that they gave him the unofficial title of "General Poe." Sadly, General Poe's business was never again successful, and he died in 1816 with little to leave his widow. She spent the rest of her life in a state of poverty and ill-health, receiving the most meager of pensions from the state of Maryland.

Edgar Poe was quite proud of his grandfather, and spoke frequently about him in later life. It is unlikely that he remembered seeing him, as his only visit to the Baltimore Poe family was for a period of some months shortly after his birth. There is no evidence that Edgar Poe returned to Baltimore before his grandfather's death, despite the fact that upon the death of his parents in 1811, his brother was taken in by the grandparents. When his mother died in Richmond, Edgar Poe was taken into the family of a Scottish merchant in that city, John Allan, from whom Poe took his middle name.

In March 1827, Edgar Poe made his second visit to Baltimore after quarreling with and quitting the household of his foster father. This followed Poe's academically successful but financially disastrous year at the



Edgar Allan Poe.

University of Virginia where he accumulated gambling debts that John Allan refused to pay. In Baltimore, Poe visited his elder brother, William Henry Leonard Poe, who was developing something of a literary reputation. Desiring a literary career for himself, Edgar Poe may have met the Baltimore poet Edward Coote Pinkney, and two friends of his brother's, Nathan C. Brooks and Lambert A. Wilmer, who would later become literary figures and editors. In the album of a young lady of the city, Octavia Walton, he wrote "To Octavia," one of the earliest of his poems. After this brief stay in Baltimore, he moved on to Boston, the city of his birth.

Having found no work or fame in Boston, Poe enlisted in the Army. It was two years until he reconciled with his foster father and was able to get John Allan's help in hiring a substitute to complete his term of enlistment. He also gained Allan's help in securing an appointment to West Point. Having to wait for his actual matriculation, Poe lived in Baltimore from May 1829 to January 1830, probably staying in a boarding house.

During this time, he met with William Wirt, whom he had known at the University of Virginia. Wirt, a former Attorney General of the United States and author of a biography of Patrick Henry, read Poe's poem, "Al Aaraaf." Wirt said he was not capable of judging the poem, but it would "please modern readers." Wirt suggested that Poe talk to two Philadelphia magazine editors and a publisher about getting his work in print. This led in a roundabout way to Poe securing the Baltimore firm of Hatch and Dunning to publish his second book of poetry, *Al Aaraaf, Tamerlane, and Minor Poems*. His first book, *Tamerlane and Other Poems*, had been published in Boston in 1827 with the author listed only as "A Bostonian."

Poe's studies at West Point lasted less than a year. Complaining again of lack of funds, Poe contrived to have himself court-martialed and dismissed from the Academy. After his dismissal, he made a short visit to New York where he paid to have his third volume of poetry, *Poems*, published, paying with voluntary subscriptions from a number of his West Point classmates. Unable to find work in New York, he moved back to Baltimore to live in the household of his aunt, Maria Clemm, who was nursing his invalid grandmother, putting up his brother, and taking care of her own daughter Virginia.

The first several years in Baltimore were not a happy time for Poe. Despite several mildly favorable notices for *Poems*, he could not find work teaching or working for a newspaper as he desired, and the family was desperately poor. His brother died in August 1831, possibly of causes related to alcoholism. The city itself suffered a severe cholera epidemic in 1831, killing many of its residents. Poe was reduced once again to begging John Allan for money, and received only a small sum in January of the next year.

In the summer of 1831, the Philadelphia *Saturday Courier* announced a contest, offering a premium of \$100 "to the writer of the best original tale." Poe submitted five. On December 31, the winner was announced, and it was not Edgar Allan Poe. Nonethe-

less, over the next twelve months, the *Saturday Courier* published all five tales, apparently paying him nothing. This was typical of magazines of the time and explains how Poe and other writers could publish and still remain poor. In later years, he would publish an article decrying this situation entitled "Some Secrets of the Magazine Prison-House."

As his tales were appearing in 1832, Poe may have been working in a brickyard to make ends meet. During the summer, he had a romance with a young woman named Mary Starr. By 1833, he was writing literary articles and poems for the Baltimore *Saturday Visiter*. In June 1833, the *Visiter* announced a contest which would pay \$50 for the best tale and \$25 for the best poem. Poe entered both categories. His tale "MS. Found in a Bottle" won as best tale; and his poem "The Coliseum" nearly won best poem, but was perhaps not selected because of Poe's having won the other category. One of the judges, John Pendleton Kennedy, became Poe's literary benefactor, attempting to place Poe's collection of tales (*Tales of the Folio Club*) with various publishers.

This slight good fortune did not alleviate Poe's financial troubles. When John Allan died in 1834, he left Poe nothing. Poe may still have been working in the brickyard to make ends meet and had yet to find a publisher for *Tales of the Folio Club*.

In 1835, Poe's luck turned. Kennedy wrote to Thomas Willis White, owner of the new Richmond magazine, *The Southern Literary Messenger*, about Poe, suggesting that White publish some of Poe's writing and perhaps consider giving him permanent employment. White did accept Poe's tales "Berenice," "Morella," and "Lionizing" as well as other literary notices, reviews, and articles. In return, Poe wrote notices for Baltimore publications announcing and favorably critiquing the *Messenger*. By June, White was sounding out Poe about working for him full time.

In August, Poe moved to Richmond, having heard of a teaching opportunity. When it did not pan out, he went to work for White, who, having Poe's assistance,

relieved his regular editor of his duties. Poe became de facto editor, although White was unwilling to grant him this title exclusively and officially.

This was not quite the end of the Baltimore period. Shortly after his arrival in Richmond, Poe received a letter from Maria Clemm, apparently telling him that she and Virginia would move in with Neilson Poe, a cousin. This drove Poe to write a desperate return post, declaring his love for Virginia and begging them to live with him in Richmond. In September, he resigned his position at the *Messenger* and returned to Baltimore. Shortly thereafter, he begged White for his job back, returning to Richmond with Mrs. Clemm and Virginia to resume his duties as editor. He remained at the *Messenger* until 1837.

Poe did not think fondly of Baltimore in his later years. In 1839, he wrote to Snodgrass that he was glad Snodgrass had "no share in the feelings of ill will toward me which are somewhat prevalent (God only knows why) in Baltimore." Poe apparently attributed much of this to his cousin Neilson Poe, of whom he wrote in his next letter to Snodgrass:

I believe him to be the bitterest enemy I have in the world. He is more despicable in this, since he makes loud professions of friendship. . . . I can not account for his hostility except in being vain enough to imagine him jealous of the little literary reputation I have of years late obtained. But enough of that little dog.

The occasion for this vituperation was Neilson Poe's refusal to print in *The Baltimore Chronicle*, of which he was editor, Snodgrass's favorable critique of the latest issue of *Burton's Magazine*, for which Edgar A. Poe was assistant editor.

Poe is known to have made only two other visits to Baltimore after this. One way that a writer and critic could earn money was to give lectures, and Poe was always in need of money. On January 31, 1844, he returned to Baltimore briefly to lecture on "American Poetry." Single tickets were 25 cents, and tickets admitting a gentleman and two ladies were 50 cents. Poe stayed only a few days, but did meet with his earlier

From childhood's hour I have not been as others were — I have not seen as others saw — I could not bring my passions from a common spring.

Edgar Allan Poe

benefactor, John Pendleton Kennedy. A second report has him visiting Baltimore in March 1846, just prior to the start of publication of his series on the New York literati. The purpose of this second visit is not clear, but he was reported to have been drinking fairly heavily and may have been ill.

This returns us to the final tragic visit in September 1849. The circumstances surrounding Poe's death and even its cause are unclear. There is no hard evidence how he spent the time between his departure from Richmond on September 27 and his being found in the tavern on October 3. There is even speculation that he did go to Philadelphia and somehow returned to Baltimore. While it is likely that alcohol contributed to his death, it is not certain that it is the only cause. Poe, the inventor of the detective story and the great detective C. Auguste Dupin, would have appreciated this mystery that baffles us still today.

Poe the author often set his stories in places with which he was familiar. Surprisingly, Baltimore was never used as a setting. Poe used his English boarding school in "William Wilson," his stay at Charlottesville's University of Virginia in "A Tale of the Ragged Mountains," his Army service on Sullivan's Island near Charleston, South Carolina in "The Gold Bug," "The Oblong Box," and "The Balloon Hoax," his life in Richmond in "The Premature Burial," his rambles on the outskirts of Philadelphia in "Morning on the Wissahiccon," and his residence in Fordham, New York in "Landor's Cottage." Baltimore only receives a brief mention in "The Premature Burial" when Poe recounts a purportedly true incident of a woman believed to be dead, but actually buried alive in a state of suspended animation. It is at first difficult to see why Baltimore is treated with such neglect.

In this regard, it is important to understand that the location where Poe's action takes place is almost never central to the plot or the effect of the story. Unlike Hawthorne, who wrote about New England and New Englanders, or Irving who wrote about the New York Dutch, Poe's stories do not depend on place. In "The Mystery of Marie Roget," for example, Poe took an

event that occurred in New York City — the murder of a cigar girl by the name of Mary Rogers — and moved it to Paris. The point of the story was not the specific murder, but the ability to use the thought process, ratiocination, to solve a mystery. For Poe, a setting provides verisimilitude — a seeming reality that would render the tale credible. "The Balloon Hoax" needs Charleston as the site of the balloon landing because it can be credibly described, yet is so far away that people cannot easily check the tale's veracity. It is useful to note that Poe's satires often do not have specific locations; other details give the intention away (for example, a serious newspaper named *The Teapot* in "X-ing a Paragrab").

Nor is this to say that Poe did not use his experiences in Baltimore in his tales. While it is commonly thought that Poe's works sprang out of twisted dreams brought on by drugs or alcohol, sources can be found in literature or real life experiences for almost everything Poe wrote. The Poe scholar Arthur Hobson Quinn suggests that Poe may have used the Baltimore cholera epidemic for background of "King Pest," which is set in London, and "The Masque of the Red Death" which is set in some indeterminate European kingdom. A balloon ascension was made in Baltimore in May of 1834 while Poe was there. It was likely that he witnessed this ascension since his uncle, Henry Herring, erected an amphitheater to permit the general public to view it. Balloons appear in three Poe stories, "The Balloon Hoax," "Melona Tautona," and "The Unparalleled Adventure of One Hans Pfaall." Finally, Baltimore at the time was a city of commerce and industry, and Poe was not above satirizing both in "The Business Man."

Another Baltimore experience of Poe's could have seen publication, but the idea never came to fruition. In 1833–1835, Poe attempted to publish a collection of his earliest stories as *The Tales of the Folio Club*. In this conception, a literary club meets every month for dinner. Each of the members reads a short prose tale he has written, and the other members critique it. Unfortunately, *Tales of the Folio Club* never found a publisher. Nevertheless, actual literary clubs familiar to Poe certainly formed the basis for the Folio Club. In particular,

The Tuesday Club in Annapolis (Poe's club met on Tuesdays) and The Delphian Club in Baltimore (to which a friend of Poe belonged) were completely real.

A final tie to Baltimore exists in Poe's efforts to get his work published in Baltimore's magazines and annuals and his relations to the Baltimore literary community. In addition to "MS. Found in a Bottle" that appeared in the *Saturday Visiter* in 1933, Poe saw his "Siope" ("Silence") published in the *Baltimore Book for 1838* (published in 1837) and in the next year, his tales "Legia," "The Psyche Zenobia" ("How to Write a Blackwood Article") and "The Scythe of Time" ("A Predicament") appeared in the *Baltimore American Museum*. The *Saturday Visiter*, under the editorship of Poe's friend, Joseph Evans Snodgrass, could usually be counted on to reprint Poe's pieces and recognize his publications favorably. Poe hoped for even more. On September 19, 1841, he wrote Snodgrass and asked "By the way, is it impossible to start a first-class Mag: in Baltimore? Is there no publisher or gentleman of moderate capital who would join me in the scheme?" Alas for Poe's ambitions, hard financial times kept capital for such risky ventures scarce.

The last note on Poe's relations with Baltimore is a sad one. He was buried the day after his death in a sparsely attended and brief funeral. The coffin, furnished by Henry Herring, was accompanied to the cemetery by the Reverend William Clemm, Snodgrass, Herring, Neilson Poe, and Z. Collins Lee, a lawyer who had been a classmate of Poe's at the University of Virginia. Besides these men, the funeral was only attended by two other cousins, the sexton, the undertaker, and one of Poe's early schoolmasters. J. Alden Watson, a young on-looker, recalled that:

the burial ceremony which did not occupy more than three minutes, was so cold-blooded and unchristianlike as to provoke on my part a sense of anger difficult to suppress. . . . In justice to the people of Baltimore, I must say that if the funeral had been postponed for a single day, until the death was generally known, a far more imposing escort to the tomb and one more worthy of the many admirers of the poet in the city would have taken place.

But the public judgment on Poe's character was not so charitable, and the flames of disapproval were fanned by Poe's literary executor, Rufus Griswold, who wrote in Poe's obituary that the announcement of the poet's death "will startle many, but few will be grieved by it." Griswold did little to correct the impression that Poe was a madman, an opium addict, a drunkard, and a man of the worst moral repute. In light of these characterizations, it was not until after the Civil War that the citizens of Baltimore thought Poe's grave worthy of a monument. One was erected in November 1875, funded by school children in a campaign called Pennies for Poe.



Doug Boulter

Doug Boulter graduated from Dickinson College with majors in history, political science, and German. He has a MPhil (ABD) from Columbia University in political science. He writes poetry, home repair articles, and computer software reviews, and is currently working on a children's book about raccoons.

Timeline: Edgar Allan Poe

- 1809 Edgar Poe is born in Boston on January 19 to actors David Poe Jr. and Elizabeth Arnold Poe.
- 1811 In July, David Poe deserts his family. In December, Elizabeth Poe dies in Richmond, Virginia. Poe is taken in by John Allan, a merchant, and his wife Frances.
- 1815 The Allans move to England. For the next five years, Poe attends English boarding schools.
- 1820 The Allan Family returns to Richmond. Poe goes to private Richmond schools.
- 1826 Poe attends the University of Virginia where he incurs gambling debts which John Allan refuses to pay. Allan takes Poe back to Richmond to work in his firm.
- 1827 Poe quarrels with Allan and leaves Boston. He gets *Tamerlane and Other Poems* published. Unable to find suitable work, he enlists in the army, serving in an artillery regiment and rising to the rank of sergeant-major.
- 1829 Poe reconciles with Allan and attains an early discharge from the army. He gets his volume *Al Aaraaf, Tamerlane, and Minor Poems* published.
- 1830 Poe enters the Corps of Cadets at West Point.
- 1831 Poe determines to have himself dismissed from West Point, which he accomplishes. His newest collection, *Poems*, is published. He moves to Baltimore, living with his aunt, Maria Clemm and her daughter Virginia. He is again unable to find suitable work.
- 1832 The *Saturday Courier* (Philadelphia) publishes five of Poe's short stories.
- 1833 Poe wins a contest of the *Baltimore Saturday Visitor* with his tale "MS. Found in a Bottle."
- 1834 John Allan dies and leaves Poe nothing.
- 1835 Poe begins writing for the *Southern Literary Messenger*, ultimately becoming editor. In October, Maria Clemm and Virginia join him in Richmond.
- 1836 Poe marries Virginia, who was then not quite fourteen years of age.
- 1837 Poe leaves the *Messenger* and moves to New York with his wife and Mrs. Clemm.
- 1838 The Poe Family moves to Philadelphia. Harper and Brothers publishes his only novel, *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*. His tale "Legia" appears.
- 1839 Poe becomes assistant editor at *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine*. "The Fall of the House of Usher" and twenty-four short stories are published in *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque* in December.
- 1840 Poe attempts to start his own magazine, *The Penn Magazine*, and is fired from *Burton's*.
- 1841 Poe takes a job as an editor for *Graham's Magazine*. "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" is published.
- 1842 Virginia Poe suffers a hemorrhage, beginning her unsuccessful battle with tuberculosis. Poe resigns from *Graham's*. His tales "The Masque of the Red Death" and "The Pit and the Pendulum" are published.
- 1843 Poe wins \$100 for his tale "The Gold Bug." "The Tell-Tale Heart" and "The Black Cat" appear.
- 1844 The Poe Family moves to New York. Poe's tales "The Premature Burial" and "The Purloined Letter" appear.
- 1845 "The Raven" is published and Poe becomes a popular celebrity. He gains ownership of *The Broadway Journal*, which is in financial difficulties and must close by the end of the year.
- 1846 Poe is in ill health and ostracized from New York literary society. "A Cask of Amontillado" appears.
- 1847 Virginia Poe dies. Poe is ill much of the year.
- 1848 Poe's cosmological treatise *Eureka* is published, but does not sell widely.
- 1849 Poe returns to writing, publishing five more tales and writing his poems "The Bells" and "Annabel Lee." He makes a successful lecture trip to Richmond. Intending to return to New York by way of Philadelphia, Poe makes a stop in Baltimore and dies there under mysterious circumstances on October 7.

Edgar Allan Poe on the Web

Edgar Allan Poe is one of six famous Maryland authors who can be found at the Maryland Humanities Council's homepage located at <http://www.gcnet.net/mhc>. You can also find information on Edgar Allan Poe at these web sites:

Edgar Allan Poe's House of Usher

<http://www.comnet.ca/~forrest>

Site provides links to just about every major Poe website, offering humorous commentary along the way.

Qrisse's Edgar Allan Poe Pages

http://www.cs.umu.se/~dpcnn/eapoe/ea_poe.html

Site contains a Poe chat room, biographical pages, and links to other Poe homepages.

E. A. Poe Society of Baltimore

<http://raven.ubalt.edu/features/poe>

Site offers information on how to join the Poe Society and extensive biographical and research information. Details regarding the poet's connection to the City of Baltimore can also be found here.



Suggested Readings

Moss, Sidney P. *Poe's Literary Battles: The Critic in the Context of His Literary Milieu*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1969.

Quinn, Arthur Hobson. *Edgar Allan Poe: A Critical Biography*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1941.

Silverman, Kenneth. *Edgar A. Poe: Mournful and Never-ending Remembrance*. New York: Harper Perennial, 1991.

Thomas, Dwight and David K. Jackson. *The Poe Log: A Documentary Life of Edgar Allen Poe, 1809-1849*. Boston: G. K. Hall and Company, 1987.

Author's Note: Silverman's is the only scholarly biography of Poe currently in print. The best biography is still the Quinn volume, which can easily be found in most university libraries. For those with a serious interest in the details of Poe's life, the Thomas and Jackson volume is indispensable. The Moss volume is excellent on Poe's battles with the literary and publishing circles of his time.

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Humanities in Maryland

From the Resource Center

The following videotapes may be borrowed from the Maryland Humanities Council's Resource Center. For further information call Polly Weber at 410-625-4830.

Edgar Allan Poe: Terror of the Soul

Poe's creative genius and personal experiences are recreated through dramatic recreations from his life and works in this video biography.

Democracy in America and A Voice in America

These videotapes capture some of the Council's previous Chautauqua programs in western Maryland. *Democracy in America* includes performances by Alexis de Tocqueville, Maria W. Stewart, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Frances Wright, Harriett Beecher Stowe, Horace Greeley and P.T. Barnum. *A Voice in America* features Thomas Jefferson, Frederick Douglass, and Eleanor Roosevelt.

The Revolutionary Return of Thomas Jefferson

Clay Jenkinson, co-founder of the modern Chautauqua movement, is shown in performance as Thomas Jefferson in a program presented to federal legislators in 1988.

Money Available

Nonprofit organizations and community groups are eligible to apply for grants from the Maryland Humanities Council. Staff members will help you plan programs and work on grant applications. To receive a copy of our grant guidelines, call or write the Council (address and phone number on back cover) or retrieve them from the Council's homepage located at <http://www.gcnet.net/mhc>.

There are two kinds of grants. Minigrants (requests of \$1,200 or less) should be submitted at least six weeks before your project begins; there are no set deadlines for minigrants. Regular grants should be submitted by the following deadlines for consideration in the next round:

First Draft	Final Draft	Decision Date
October 15, 1997	December 5, 1997	January 24, 1998

Maryland Bookshelf

Literary Maryland

Anne Tyler: A Bio-Bibliography, Robert W. Croft

Baltimore: City of Writers, Del Marbrook

In Defense of Marion: The Love of Marion Bloom and H.L. Mencken, edited by Edward A. Martin

F. Scott Fitzgerald's Rockville: Rockville in the 1920s, Eileen McGuckian and Lisa Greenhouse

Do You Remember?, H. L. Mencken and Philip Goodman

The Tuesday Club: A Shorter Edition of 'The History of the Ancient and Honorable Tuesday Club,' by Dr. Alexander Hamilton, edited by Robert Micklus

Recent Releases

The Fountain of Highlandtown, Rafael Alvarez

Black Jacks, W. Jeffrey Bolster

Middling Planters of Ruxton, 1694–1850, Joseph M. Coale III

Monocacy: The Battle That Saved Washington, B. Franklin Cooling

Twilley, Bruce Fleming

Watching Nature: A Mid-Atlantic Natural History, Mark S. Garland

Maryland's Persistent Pursuit to End Slavery, 1850–1864, Anita Aidt Guy

The C & O Canal Companion, Mike High

The Time for Healing, Valerie Hodge-Williams

The Short Life of the ASTP, Frank N. Iglehart

The Workboats of Smith Island, Paula J. Johnson

Crossroads of War, Roger Keller



John Gottlieb Morris: Man of God, Man of Science, Michael J. Kurtz

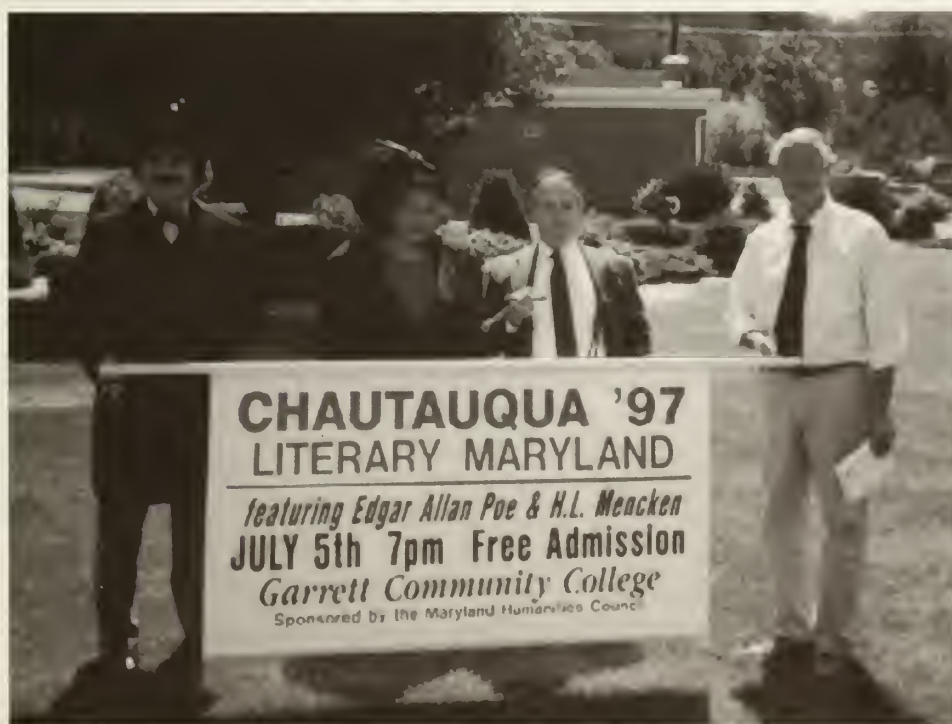
Disappearing Delmarva: Portraits of the Peninsula People, Ed Okonowicz

One Perfect Rose, Mary Jo Putney

You Can't Never Get to Puckum: Folks and Tales From Delmarva, Hal Roth

Gilman Voices, 1897–1997, Patrick Smithwick, editor

Ivan & Adolf: The Last Man in Hell, Stephen Vicchio



The Literary Maryland troupe (left to right): Doug Boulter as Edgar Allan Poe; Phyllis McEwen as Zora Neale Hurston; John Dausch as H.L. Mencken, and Mike McCarthy as F. Scott Fitzgerald. Photo by Donna Leigh Barnes.



Edgar Allan Poe (copy of a Thomas Sully portrait). Courtesy of James Southall Wilson's Edgar Allan Poe Collection (#7838-A), Special Collections Department, University of Virginia Library.

Family Matters Receives Funding

The Maryland Humanities Council is pleased to announce that *Family Matters* — its innovative reading/discussion program for inner-city youth and their adult family partners — has received additional financial support from the USF&G Foundation. Their generous support will enable the Council to continue to bring this program to public housing, transitional housing, and PAL (Police Athletic League) sites throughout Baltimore City during 1997–1998.

Major funders for *Family Matters* include The Annie E. Casey Foundation, The Jacob & Hilda Blaustein Foundation, the Margaret Alexander Edwards Trust, The William G. Baker, Jr. Memorial Fund, and the USF&G Foundation. Sponsors for meals and books include: Borders Books, Burger King, Canada Dry, Checkers, Domino's Pizza, Encore Books, Giant Food, Kentucky Fried Chicken, Long John Silver's, Louie's Book Store, McDonald's, Michele's Family Bakery, Pizza Hut, Popeye's, Roy Rogers, Safeway, Stop Shop & Save, Subway Sandwiches, and Wendy's Old-Fashioned Hamburgers. The Council also wishes to acknowledge its thanks for the continuing support of our collaborating partners, the Housing Authority of Baltimore City and the Enoch Pratt Free Library.

Farewell to Retiring Board Members

The following members recently completed their terms of service on the Board of Directors: Raymond V. "Buzz" Bartlett, Lowell R. Bowen, George H. Callcott, Joseph T. Durham, Nathaniel E. Jones, Jr., and Steven C. Newsome. Long-time member H. Margret Zassenhaus was named member emerita at the Board's May 1997 meeting. The Council wishes to express its sincere appreciation for the dedication and hard work of these individuals.

The Maryland Humanities Council welcomes applications for membership on its Board of Directors. Drawn from academy and community, and representing all regions of the state, Council members contribute hundred of unpaid hours reading and reviewing grant applications, attending meetings and programs, and raising funds.

Applications are invited from residents throughout Maryland who by reason of their achievement, scholarship, and creativity in the humanities, or their knowledge of community and state interests are qualified to serve. Interested citizens who would like to be considered for future membership should submit their resume, with a cover letter explaining their reasons for wishing to serve on the Council by December 31, 1997.

More Secrets

In the Summer 1997 issue of *Maryland Humanities*, our regular feature "Maryland's Best Kept Secrets" highlighted African-American resources throughout the state. Since that time, we have been advised of additions to the list:

Sojourner Truth Room
Oxon Hill Branch Library
Prince George's County Memorial Library System
6200 Oxon Hill Road, Oxon Hill
301-839-2400

Sotterly Plantation
P.O. Box 67, Hollywood
301-373-2280

Hampton National Historic Site
535 Hampton Lane, Towson
410-823-1309



For the third year, the Maryland Humanities Council and the Mayor's Advisory Committee on Art and Culture will celebrate Arts and Humanities Month in Baltimore during October 1997. Events will include dance and music performances at downtown office buildings, City Hall, Harborplace, senior centers, and shopping malls. There will be literary readings by local authors at bookstores and libraries, and a "poetry slam" will showcase readings by area poets and award prizes for three winners. Children's workshops at local libraries will include storytelling and creative writing exercises. For a copy of the Arts and Humanities Month Cultural Calendar which lists arts and humanities events in Baltimore during October, call 410-625-4830.

Public Meetings Scheduled for Fall

The Maryland Humanities Council, in conjunction with the Maryland Historical and Cultural Museum Assistance Program and the Maryland State Arts Council, will host six public meetings this fall to assist Maryland organizations and institutions in developing grant proposals. Meetings are slated for the following areas: September 24 – Columbia; October 1 – Cumberland; October 7 – Owings Mills; October 9 – Prince George's County; October 14 – Denton, and October 16 – Baltimore City.

In addition, a special workshop focusing specifically on Maryland Humanities Council guidelines will take place on November 3 at Council headquarters, 601 North Howard Street, Baltimore. The workshop will be a step-by-step review of how to complete application forms, write the proposal narrative, and prepare the budget.

All meetings will be held from 1:30 p.m. – 4:30 p.m. For specific site information or travel directions call Judy Dobbs at 410-625-4830.

FOR SALE

Great tote bags, t-shirts, coffee mugs and poster sets featuring famous Maryland authors

Each item features a caricature of and quote by one of six famous Marylanders (caricatures and quotes shown below).

Tote bags 100% natural cotton duck, 15" x 16", \$8 each

T-shirts 100% natural cotton (preshrunk), \$13 each

Coffee mugs \$8 each, \$35 set of six designs

Posters Set of all six designs, 11" x 14", \$7 set

Prices include Maryland sales tax, postage and handling. Delivery time is approximately two weeks. Orders may be placed by calling the Council at 410-625-4830 or by mail. Payment can be made by VISA, MasterCard, or American Express or by personal check or money order.

The caricatures and quotes can be viewed at the Council's website located at <http://www.gcnet.net/mhc> or by calling 410-625-4830 to request a sales flyer.



Zora Neale Hurston in front of her car, Sassy Susie. Photo courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

Calendar of Humanities Events

The following programs are receiving funds from the Maryland Humanities Council. Council grants are made possible through major support from the National Endowment for the Humanities, Maryland's Division of Historical and Cultural Programs, corporations, foundations, and individuals. Since dates and times are subject to change, we recommend you contact the project director before attending any event.

Exhibits

Ongoing **Land and Water, People and Time**

Examines the unique language of Smith Island, its distinctive phrasing and expressions in "What Did You Say?," an exhibit component that interprets the history of this once isolated community.

Location: Smith Island Center, Ewell
Contact: *Abbie Chessler, 301-236-4200*
Sponsor: Crisfield and Smith Island Cultural Alliance

Through November 1997 **Montgomery County's Pre-History, Native Americans & Archaeology**

Focuses on Montgomery County's earliest history, the period of Native American population before European settlement in the 17th century. Includes artifacts, drawings, maps, and interpretive text.

Location: Beall-Dawson House Museum of the Montgomery County Historical Society, Rockville
Contact: *Mary Kay Harper, 301-340-2825*
Sponsor: Montgomery County Historical Society

Images and Voices of Greenbelt

Through 1997 Looks at the garden city of Greenbelt, one of only three planned communities in the United States built by the federal government in the 1930s as a social experiment.

Location: Greenbelt Community Center, Greenbelt
Contact: *Sandra Lange, 301-883-5542*
Sponsor: Friends of the Greenbelt Museum

Ideal Places, Personal Spaces: Sixty Years of Greenbelt's Architecture

Opens Fall 1997 Demonstrates the relationship between the architectural styles of historic Greenbelt homes over a 60-year span and looks at how individuals create "ideal" spaces within the larger community.

Location: Greenbelt Community Center, Greenbelt
Contact: *Katie Scott-Childress, 301-507-6582*
Sponsor: Friends of the Greenbelt Museum

Footsteps From North Brentwood

Through
December 15

Explores the history of North Brentwood, the first African-American community to be incorporated in Prince George's County. Includes oral histories, documents, photographs, and related artifacts.

Location: Lowe House Office of Delegates, Annapolis

Contact: Ruth Wilson, 202-529-8693

Sponsor: North Brentwood Historical Society



*F. Scott Fitzgerald in his study at La Paix, his Rodgers Forge home, 1933. He wrote *Tender is the Night* during the time he lived in Baltimore. Photo by Cecilia-Norfolk Eareckson. From the collection of the late Arthur Mizener.*

Programs

Montgomery County Historical Society Speakers Bureau

Fall 1997

A speakers bureau provides presentations on the history of Montgomery County to community groups in that area. Call sponsor for further details.

Contact: Jane North, 301-340-9853

Sponsor: Montgomery County Historical Society

Baltimore Through My Eyes

Program celebrates the 200th anniversary of Baltimore City's incorporation through four living history interpretations — a woman, an African American, a German immigrant, and a maritime historian.

Dates/Times: 1–4 PM, September 6–7; October 4–5; and November 1–2

11 AM – 2 PM, September 17, October 15, and November 19

Location: Gallery of the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore City

Contact: Janet Surrett, 410-685-3750 x337

Sponsor: Maryland Historical Society

Historical Subjects Related to Our Area

Lecture series looks at the history of Harford County.

September 19
Call for time Lecture on Molinography by Greg Stiverson
Location: St. Ignatius Church, Hickory

November 2
Call for time Lecture on the Civil War by Burton Kummerow
Location: Harford Community College, Churchville

Contact: A. Edward Snodgrass, 410-879-7046
Sponsor: Historical Society of Harford County

Antonio Machado: The Soul of Spain

Program presents the work of the great Spanish poet Antonio Machado.
A recitation of Machado's poetry is accompanied by Spanish folk music.

September 27
2 PM Location: Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore

November 2
2 PM Location: Howard County Public Library, Columbia

Contact: John Haigh, 410-323-2829
Sponsor: The Hispanic Cultural Association of Maryland

Second Annual F. Scott Fitzgerald Literary Conference

Conference features novelist John Barth and workshops by nationally-known writers, as well as a slide show on *F. Scott Fitzgerald's Rockville*.

September 27
Call for times Location: Montgomery College, Rockville
Contact: John Moser, 301-762-0096
Sponsor: Peerless Rockville Historic Preservation, Ltd.

A Grand Design: The Art of the Victoria and Albert Museum

Lecture series accompanies the major exhibition *A Grand Design: The Art of the Victoria and Albert Museum* on display at the Baltimore Museum of Art between October 1997 and January 1998. The lectures explore the role of the Victoria and Albert Museum in Westerners' understanding of what museums are and the museum's influence upon the cultural history of Britain and other nations over the past 150 years.

October 26 &
November 9
3PM Location: Meyerhoff Auditorium, The Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore
Contact: Brenda Richardson, 410-396-6309
Sponsor: Baltimore Museum of Art

Maryland's Best Kept Humanities Secrets

Edgar Allan Poe House and Museum

Edgar Allan Poe House and Museum
204 Amity Street
Baltimore, MD
410-396-7932
Curator: Jeff Jerome

Hours:

April – July
Wednesday – Saturday, Noon – 3:45 PM

August – September
Saturdays, Noon – 3:45 PM

October – December
Wednesday-Saturday, Noon – 3:45 PM

January – March
Closed for the season and repairs

Admission:

\$3.00 General Admission
\$1.00 12 and under



The Poe House, built around 1830, is located at 203 Amity Street (originally No. 3 Amity Street). Maria Clemm rented the property in 1833 and lived there with her nephew, Edgar Allan Poe; her daughter (and Edgar's wife) Virginia; her mother, Elizabeth Poe and her son, Henry Clemm. Edgar Allan Poe left the house in 1835 to move back to Richmond. The house was saved from demolition in 1941 by the Edgar Allan Poe Society of Baltimore and is run under the control of the Baltimore City Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation (CHAP).

The simple two and one-half story brick home — once a duplex, now a part of a row of houses — was hardly a spacious residence for the Poe family, as a visit to the Poe House will attest. The five rooms are small and the stairs to both floors are narrow and winding. The first floor contains a parlor and kitchen and the second floor has two bedrooms. The tiny attic bedroom on the top floor is thought to be Edgar Allan Poe's room, where he wrote some of his tales including *MS. Found in a Bottle* and *Morella*.

The primary item on display is the house itself. All interior walls and ceilings are horse-hair plaster and the

rooms have uneven wooden plank flooring. Doors, mantels, baseboards, and related-trimwork are wood. There are three fireplaces; those on the first floor share the same chimney.

In addition, a number of pieces related to Poe are exhibited, including a telescope reputedly used by Poe and a sextant and a traveling desk Poe is reported to have used at the University of Virginia. A set of Dore's illustrations for *The Raven* are displayed on the second floor. Other exhibits relate to Poe's wife, Virginia and to Poe's death, including several of the bottles of cognac left over the years at Poe's grave by the mysterious "Poe Toaster."

This year's Halloween celebration at the Poe House features performances of *The Tell-Tale Heart* and *The Cask of Amontillado* by Poe impersonator David Keltz. Both stories will be presented three times daily, October 25–26 and November 1–2 between 12:00 noon and 3:30 p.m.

This article was compiled from information prepared by the Edgar Allan Poe Society and the Edgar Allan Poe House and Museum.

An Interview with Judy D. Dobbs

By Barbara Wells Sarudy

Dear Readers,

When I came to this position nearly five years ago, we decided to institute a regular interview segment in our magazine here on the back pages. Our goal was to spotlight Maryland's exciting humanities scholars, many of whom had interesting jobs outside the traditional university teaching arena. It has been wonderful to come to know these people and to share their stories and insights with you.

Soon the Maryland Humanities Council will mark its 25th anniversary, and we have decided that to celebrate we should let our readers get to know some of our extraordinary staff and council members. The obvious choice for the first interview is our deputy director, Judy Dobbs. Judy began working with state humanities councils in 1976 in Charlottesville, Virginia. When her family moved to Maryland in 1980, she joined the Maryland Humanities Council. We believe that Judy has served as a council program officer longer than anyone else in the United States.

Judy received her BA in art history from Randolph Macon Women's College and went to Boston University for her MA in art history. Keeping interest in historic architectural history alive here in Maryland, she serves on the boards of the Friends of Maryland's Olmsted Parks and Landscapes and the Old Saint Paul's Cemetery Restoration Committee.

I hope you enjoy meeting Judy Dobbs as much as we enjoy working with her.

Barbara Wells Sarudy

When did you first become involved working with humanities councils?

I began working with them in 1976 when I saw an advertisement for a job at the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and Public Policy in Charlottesville, Virginia. State humanities councils were new then, and I didn't have much detail on what they did. I expected it might be some experimental hippy intellectual group, so I thought long and hard about what to wear for the interview because I wanted to look professional but not too conservative. I met with the director and the chairman who were warm and welcoming and enthusiastic about the mission of these fledgling organizations throughout the country. As it turned out, casual or conservative dress was not an issue, because the state



Barbara Wells Sarudy and Judy Dobbs. Photo by Polly Weber.

humanities councils were reaching out to people of all regions, educational backgrounds, and political persuasions.

How have things changed over the years?

"Back in the old days," as we folks of a certain age tend to say, our director and our secretary and I were sandwiched together in one small office at the University of Virginia. Later we expanded to two rooms in a nineteenth century Thomas Jefferson basement, but we had to walk all the way across campus to do even a page of photocopying. Now I have my own office with computer, fax, and photocopier at my fingertips. But the amenities are not the important difference. What's really changed is that state humanities councils are growing and are becoming better known as a national movement. And we are making important strides in making the humanities part of all people's lives. Twenty years ago we were restricted to programs in which humanities scholars addressed issues of public policy, which usually meant we were funding lectures and conferences. Sometimes those events were pretty boring. Other times they were exciting, but there were limited opportunities for attracting broad audiences and organizations. Now our options are much more open, and the creativity that's been generated by state councils around the country is staggering.

What was your most exciting project?

My father always asks me questions like that, and I find them impossible to answer because there is never just one. The real reward has been helping grant applicants start with the germ of an idea, refer them to some local scholars, connect them to organizations with similar interests, suggest other funding sources, and see the project succeed. I suppose my favorite projects are the ones on local history where scholars and people in the community get involved at all levels. A project in Annapolis looked at the city's history through oral histories, an exhibit, a publication, and a dramatic performance that attracted capacity crowds. A dedicated researcher put together a book and panel presentations on a black neighborhood in Catonsville that resulted in studies and publications on additional communities. Our council-conducted *Family Matters* book discussion program is another exciting project that brings the humanities directly into families' homes.

Tell us more about the Family Matters program you direct.

Last year we began to do programs to reach Marylanders who don't usually have access to our humanities grants programs. Our Council, in partnership with The Enoch Pratt Free Library, is sponsoring *Family Matters*, a six-week program that brings at-risk youth together with an adult family member to talk about books. The project is the first of its kind in the United States. It helps families become closer by encouraging discussion between generations about stories that relate to everyday family life. We take these programs to community centers, public housing sites, shelters for the homeless and abused, and police athletic leagues. Each family receives a free set of books and takes part in discussions led by librarians. Guest storytellers, authors, and national celebrities — such as cast members from *Homicide* — are often a part of the program.

Is the work some balance of tedium and excitement? How?

When I meet with staff at other state humanities councils, we often laugh about how difficult it is to describe to people what we do. Our poor parents can't brag to their friends about "my daughter, the Congressman" or "my daughter, the wrestler"; it's "my daughter, the uhhhh?" Sometimes my job is a hauler — we're always carrying publications and flyers to the next humanities event. Sometimes my job is a referral agency — did you want the name of the scholar who is an expert on the history of fairy tales and mysteries? Occasionally I am the like the royal family — representing the Council at endless meetings and long conferences (or even marching in a 4th of July parade in western Maryland). But most of the time things are very stimulating. There are exciting ideas being generated for new projects, there are interesting scholars from whom I continue to learn about a vast array of subjects, and there is the reward of a successful project which stimulates a participant to want to learn more about a particular topic or starts a community thinking about how to develop more humanities programs.

Who is your most unforgettable person?

There's that question again, Barbara! There is not *one* person I can point to because I work with many people of so many backgrounds and talents. Of course, there are a few unforgettable people who have yelled at me because they didn't get their grants. But for the most part I have learned so much from our staff, from our outstanding board members, from our grantees, and from some of the organizations like The Enoch Pratt Free Library with whom we collaborate on special projects. I am deeply indebted to all of them for making my job so enriching.

*Join us next time when Maryland Humanities will take a look
back into Bawlmer's past in our
winter issue — Baltimore 250*



Gertrude Stein
Medical school dropout and
life-long arts and humanities
supporter

Save Lives . . . Support the Humanities

It's true that everybody is going to die from something, but here in Maryland no one has to die a dreadful premature death from insufficient humanities stimulation.

American newspapers reported this spring that in one of those crazy, pseudo-scientific studies, Swedish researchers reviewed records on nearly 13,000 of their fellow countrymen and found that Swedes who regularly visited history and art museums and attended concerts and lectures had an astounding 57% lower mortality rate than the rest of the population.

This confuses us. Does this mean that we Americans can live longer if we diligently support the arts and humanities? We don't know, but we also don't want to take any unnecessary chances.

And we hope you don't either. So please reach for your credit cards and check-books and help us keep the humanities alive and kicking in Maryland. Thank you for your prudent consideration.

Maryland HUMANITIES

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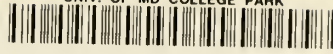


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